"Such, in brief outline, is the life of the Copper Eskimos on the land. As no other traveller has accompanied them all through this period, and observed the influence of the economic conditions on their social life, a brief diary follows of the seven months, from April to November, 1915, when I lived with some Puivlik natives on south-west Victoria island as a member of one of the families. When I joined them, on April 13, they were living in spring tents on the ice about fifteen miles northwest of the Liston and Sutton islands. I found a home in the tent of Ikpakhuak and his family, which consisted of his wife Higilak and two children, Kanneyuk and Haugak. Avranna, Higilak's son, and his wife Milukkattak, lived in the same tent for the next two days; then, as it was rather crowded, they set up one for themselves.

April 14: Several of the natives went sealing.

April 15: Kanneyuk and her cousin Kesullik freighted some blubber and my dog-pemmican towards the shore in preparation for a migration the following day. One native and his wife left the settlement to join the Eskimos on the mainland. Most of the men went sealing. [127]

April 16: The whole settlement migrated about ten miles north by east, and re-erected their spring tents, with the exception of Ikpakhuak, who intended to send his shorewards the next day. He therefore built a circular wall of snow-blocks instead, which he roofed over with two musk-ox skins and one of my cloth tents.

April 17-23: Ikpakhuak and I made a trip to Penny bay to bring back some deer-meat and deer-fat which he had cached there the previous summer. We carried no tent, for Ikpakhuak proposed to make a snow hut each night for us to sleep in. Near Ingnerin we found the settlement that the Akulliakattak natives had built the previous winter when first they crossed over from Cape Bexley and began sealing. It was now deserted, save for a single family who gave us a lunch of seal meat. Four days later, on our return, we found five families there, all living in their old snow-huts again for a few days before crossing over to Cape Bexley and the mainland.

April 23: Ikpakhuak and I reached our old settlement again. We had lived for four days on rotten deer-meat and deer-fat, save for two meals of seal-meat provided by the Akulliakattak natives. Ikpakhuak had found the diet quite agreeable. Our camp was littered with clothes of all descriptions that had been set out to dry in the sun; some were suspended on sticks, others laid out on bags. Caribou were sighted for the first time crossing the straits from the south.

April 24: Most of the men went sealing. Two families left us and camped ten miles to the west. There was another camp about six miles south-east.

April 25: The blubber and pemmican that had been freighted forward on the 15th were brought in to camp. The Eskimos went sealing, and with them Avranna's wife Milukkattak. The clothes were set out again to dry.

April 26: Our blubber was freighted ahead again about six miles by some of the natives, while the rest went sealing.

April 27: Stormy weather, so everyone remained in camp.

April 28: We migrated again towards the land, travelling slowly, with many halts, during which the snow had to be kicked up round the sled-runners to prevent the iced surface of the mud from melting. About noon some of the Eskimos made a little shelter of snow-blocks and melted some snow for drinking water, using shavings for fuel.

April 29: All the men went sealing.

April 30: A strong east wind in the morning caused the snow to drift. The wind died down before noon, and the women hurriedly unpacked their bales of clothing and beat out the snow before it had time to melt. The men went sealing.

May 1: All the men went sealing, save two, who were freighting blubber one stage forward. Higilak held a shamanistic performance in the evening.

May 2: Two families left us and went towards Epiullik; two others joined us from another camp and we all moved to a point on the ice about four miles from Okauyarvik.

May 3: The other Eskimos went sealing, while Ikpakhuak, Avranna and myself went over to Read island and shot some hares and ptarmigan. The two families that left us yesterday joined us again in the evening.

May 4: Caribou hunting. Two herds were sighted crossing the ice, and several of us went over to the mainland and intercepted them, securing three.

May5-6: Stormy weather kept everyone in camp except Avranna, who went caribou hunting.

May 7: Some of the natives went sealing, others caribou hunting. A caribou fell through a crack in the ice and was speared by one of the sealers. This was the last day that the natives went sealing until the fall. Our little party, as now constituted, remained together more or less all through the [128] summer; we were the only inhabitants that year of all the country south of the Colville hills and west of the Kimiryuak river. Altogether we numbered 20 persons, divided into five families, as follows: --

1. Ikpakhuak, his wife Higilak, her daughter (by a former husband)Kanneyuk, who was about 12 years old, and Ikpakhuak's nephew and adopted son Haugak, a boy of about 8 years of age. I was also included as a member of this family.
2. Avranna, Higilak's son, and his wife Milukkattak.
3. Tusayok, Higilak's older brother, his wife Hakka, and their son Kesullik, a youth of about 17 years of age.
4. Okalluk, his wife Kullak (an adopted daughter of Higilak), and their son Ukpik, who was perhaps 8 years old.
5. Tutsik (Ikpakhuak's nephew), his wife Mikinrok and her son (by a former husband)

Kimaktun, a boy of about 13 years of age.

6. Pissuak (a kinsman of Ikpakhuak, though the exact relationship I have not recorded) his wife Itkellrok and their baby girl Hanna. With this family lived a widower, Ivyarotailak, a brother, I think, of Itkellrok.

May 8: Avranna went hunting, while the other natives conveyed their blubber pokes to Read island and cached them. Okalluk left for the Kimiryuak river to bring back some deer-meat that had been deposited there the previous autumn.

May 9: We migrated to Okauyarvik, where Ikpakhuak recovered his large spring tent which he had sent ahead a fortnight before. Milukkattak put on the coat and mitts of her husband Avranna, who was away hunting, and built a circle of snow-blocks as a base for their tent; Ikpakhuak then helped her to set it up. Higilak gave a shamanistic performance in the evening, to enquire into the prospects of food during the coming summer.

May 10: Avranna went off alone to hunt, while Ikpakhuak and I climbed a ridge to watch for caribou crossing the strait. Ikpakhuak made a low semi-circular wall of snow on top, sufficient to shelter us from the breeze without obstructiong [sic] the outlook; later in the day he emptied one of his old caches. The other men filled in the time at various occupations round the camp.

May 11: Ikpakhuak feathered some arrows for Haugak, then gathered together such of his possessions as he intended to cache in this place. Avranna began the day by filing down some large primers to make them fit Ikpakhuak's .44 Winchester rifle that he had been using; later he joined Tutsik and myself hunting. The women were busy drying clothes in the sun; Milukkattak towards evening went off to visit two fox-traps that she had set the day before. The children wandered away with their bows and arrows to hunt for ptarmigan. They joined Tutsik and myself just after we had secured a deer, and were sent home with the head and hind-quarters.

May 12: The Eskimos proposed to migrate inland the next day, so everyone was busy packing up and laying aside whatever was to be left behind. Each family had its own separate cache, though all the caches were situated close together on the side of a low ridge. The goods were piled on the ground in a heap and covered with skins, weighted down around the sides with a few stones. Ikpakhuak cached his sled here, and piled his goods above it, while my cases of pemmican were laid underneath; on top of the pile he laid his kayak. Caribou were sighted in the evening, and some of the natives went in pursuit of them, but returned a few hours later unsuccessful.

May 13: We migrated north about 12 miles over an undulating plain interspersed with small lagoons. Ikpakhuak carried his things on Avranna's sled, as he had left his own at Okauyarvik. No caribou were sighted but some ptarmigan were seen; the

Eskimos tried to shoot them with [129] arrows, but missed. The sun was now so warm that skins had to be hung over the sides of the sleds to keep the runners from melting. In the evening the other Eskimos raised their tents on snow-blocks; but Ikpakhuak found a place where the snow was very shallow, so he cleaned it away and pitched his tent on bare ground. Milukkattak cooked some deer-meat outdoors over a small wood fire, sheltered from the breeze by some snow-blocks that Avranna set up for her.

May 14: Caribou were sighted early in the morning while we were loading the sleds, and Ikpakhuak and I went in pursuit of them, leaving the others to break camp and trek to Lake Ekallugak, in the Colville hills. We spent the whole day in an unsuccessful hunt, then about 8:30 p.m. began to look for the camp. About a mile from the lake we came upon three snow-blocks arranged in line about twenty yards apart; our people had set them up to guide us to their new camp. They had already begun to fish through the ice, and had caught enough trout for supper.

May 15: The men divided into three parties and went hunting, Milukkattak accompanying her husband Avranna. Two caribou were shot. The skins were carried back to camp, but the carcasses were left to be brought in later on a sled. The women and children fished all day in the lake, and caught about two dozen trout.

May 16: Most of the men were away hunting, the others fished with the women and

children in two or three different lakes. Higilak and Kanneyuk went out with a sled and brought in the two deer that were shot the day before.

May 17: The children shot two ptarmigan with their bows and arrows; the adults hunted and fished as usual.

May 18: We migrated north, about six miles as the crow flies, though, as we had to wind in and out following the line of the lakes, we actually travelled about ten. Many ptarmigan were seen on the way, and the Eskimos frequently launched their arrows at them, but invariably missed. In many places the snow was soft and deep, and one of the sleds capsized three times. [130] The Eskimos avoided the glare ice as much as possible, for their sleds would slide in all directions on it, then stick on the merest patch of snow, from which it was difficult to start them again as both the dogs and the Eskimos would be standing on smooth ice. We stopped to camp beside a small lake. The men, as soon as they had set up their tents, went fishing, leaving the women to unload the sleds and prepare the evening meal.

May 19: Hunting and fishing occupied the natives all day. For the first time this spring Higilak was able to cook a pot of deer-meat over an okauyak [AW: summer fuel (dryas integrifolia)] fire. Hitherto the woman had used their stone lamps and blubber, as in winter; but as their tables and lamp-supports had been left on the coast, they used to set up their lamps on snow-blocks, and rest a stone on each

corner to support the cooking-pot. We had an exciting chase after a weasel, which finally disappeared down a hole in some rocks.

May 20: Pissuak and his family, who had left us about a fortnight before, rejoined us at this place. Pissuak owned a rifle, which he shared with Ivyarotailak just as Ikpakhuak shared his with Avranna. Everyone went hunting and fishing as usual. Ikpakhuak left in the early morning, and did not return until long after midnight. The weather was now so warm that the women did most of their work out of doors.

May 21: A repetition of the preceding day.

May 22: The whole settlement moved to Lake Numikhoin, where Ikpakhuak and others had met some Prince Albert sound families the previous summer. The natives proposed to cache their sleds here, as they had done the year before. Accordingly they dragged them up on to bare ground where the mud runners, exposed to the sun, soon began to crack and break off. As soon as the tents were erected Ikpakhuak and others went off to bring in some caribou he had shot two days before. As the hills in many places were bare of snow they took a polar bear skin instead of a sled; most of the meat was wrapped inside the skin, which the dogs dragged home to camp, while the Eskimos packed the remainder on their backs. No caribou were sighted, but Ikpakhuak shot two ptarmigan. [131]

May 23: Some of the men went hunting, others fished near the camp. The women were

busy all day cutting up caribou.meat and setting it out to dry, scraping skins, and feasting. Meat was lying all about the camp, on sleds, stones, boards and sealskins; wherever meat was absent there were dogs tied by their traces to large boulders. Just before our last migration Milukkattak had made a tent from the skins of the caribou her husband had killed; here at Lake Numikhoin Pissuak's family shared it with them. At this period it was usually midnight when we went to bed, and noon before we rose. Higilak held a shamanistic performance on the evening of this day to discover whether we would find any Prince Albert sound natives if we went on to Lake Tahiryuak.

May 24: The whole party set out for Lake Tahiryuak, with the exception of Tusayok, his wife and the little boy Haugak, who were left behind to look after the drying meat. Besides my own sled, which was an ordinary European sled shod with steel runners, there were two others, stripped of their mud shoeing but protected by runners of whale's bone. Okalluk's family carried all its possessions in a polar bear skin drawn by three dogs. Several ptarmigan were shot during the day and one caribou. Our camp in the evening was rather unusual. There was a lean-to under which four of the natives were huddled in their sleeping bags, one ordinary summer tent of deer skins, and my own light canvas tent in which Ikpakhuak and Higilak slept also. Some of the natives had no shelter at all. We had left our lamps and blubber at Lake Numikhoin, and there was no fuel of any kind in the neighbourhood, so the Eskimos

satisfied their hunger with raw meat.

May 25: We reached Lake Tahiryuak in the evening, after killing three caribou and some ptarmigan on the road. Everyone began to fish as soon as camp was made. About 1 a. m., before we had turned into our sleeping-bags, Higilak held a seance to discover whether any of the Prince Albert sound natives would visit us. As the weather was mild and our tents too small to hold all the company she held her performance in the open air.

May 26-31: Everyone was engaged in hunting or in fishing. One or more of the women each day went out to collect okauyak for fuel; it was rather scarce in this locality, or at least difficult to find under the snow that still covered the ground in most places. We were given one meal of cooked meat each day, and for the rest ate semi-dried meat and fish. Higilak divined on the evening of the 28th to try and discover whether the Prince Albert sound natives were coming or not.

June 1: About noon a Kanghiryuak (Prince Albert sound) family arrived travelling by sled across the lake. It consisted of a man Kunana, his wife Allikammik, their little baby, and a young man named Imerak. A dance was held in their honour, but while it was still in progress a second sled appeared with three more Kanghiryuak natives, Nilgak, a cripple, his wife Utuaiyok, and a boy of about 11 years named Akoaksiun. This second family joined its tent to Kunana's, making the open end of the latter's

tent a common entrance for both. Higilak held a seance in the dance-house, after which some of the natives amused themselves with drumming and singing, while the others crawled into their sleeping-bags. Several natives slept in the dance-house during the next few days, as the skins which they had brought for shelters had been used to form its roof. Each morning they rolled back their sleeping gear against the wall out of the way of the dancers. [132]

June 2: A ceremonial dance was given in honour of Nilgak and his family. A good deal of sporadic trading now took place between the Kanghiryuak and the Puivlik natives.

June 3: One or two natives went hunting. During the day the Kanghiryuak families gave a return dance to express their appreciation of the welcome that they had received. Some of the Eskimos retired to their tents about midnight, and were visited by others who were anxious to learn the new dance-songs they had just been hearing. Nilgak and his wife Utuaiyok taught Ikpakhuak's people a Kanghiryuak song, (1) and were taught a Puivlik song in return.

"1. This song is included in a collection of phonographic records brought back by the expedition, it is hoped to publish them in a later volume."

June 4: Food being plentiful, the natives spent the day in camp, gossiping. Most of them went into the dance-house in the afternoon and held an informal dance.

June 5: A farewell dance was held in the morning, after which the Puivlik natives loaded up their sleds and set out on the return journey to Lake Numikhoin. Kanneyuk and another child were asleep when we left, and did not overtake us till the evening. Ikpakhuak went off to fish as soon as the tents were erected, though the other natives tried to dissuade him saying that everyone was too tired. Higilak divined again in the evening, the Eskimos being perturbed because one of my dogs had barked suddenly without any apparent reason; they feared that it foreboded some one's death. (2)

June 6: We continued our journey to Lake Numikhoin, stopping at Lake Angmaloktok to fish. Avranna and Pissuak turned aside to hunt and secured two caribou. We reached Lake Numikhoin lated in the evening.

June 7-18: Up till now we had lived largely on caribou meat, but from this date until the fall caribou were comparatively scarce. Only one more herd was seen migrating

---

"2. Cf. Stefansson, Anthrop. Papers, A. M. N. H., Vol. XIV, pt. I, p. 343."

north. Accordingly, during the next few weeks the Eskimos gave most of their attention to fishing, making Lake Numikhoin their centre. We would rise about noon, and after a light meal of semi-dried [133] fish or meat gather up our fishing-gear and start out for some lake, seldom returning before 9 p. m. If one lake yielded nothing we crossed the low dividing ridge and fished in the next. The dogs were kept in camp, tied to boulders, and fed on fish broth and on bones that had already been gnawed clean by the natives. The children often spent whole nights in wandering about, shooting at birds with their bows and arrows, and jigging for trout and salmon in the lakes; they would return to camp in the morning and sleep all through the day. Three or four caribou were shot, and a few birds, and a sea-gull was caught in a fox-trap. The women used okauyak for fuel whenever they cooked, as there was neither heather nor willow in the neighbourhood. One day Higilak used her stone lamp, burning some of the seal blubber she had brought inland with her. But in summer the lamp seldoms burns well owing to the draught inside the tent, for the front is partly open and the roof half agape, while the sides are often full of rents. Two shamanistic performances were given during this period. Everyone was busy on the 18th packing up the things that lay scattered all round the camp. Whatever was not absolutely essential during the next three or four months, such as skins, sinew, spare clothing, and various tools and implements was cached on top of the

sleds, while the dried meat and fish were piled up in heaps and covered with boulders.

June 19: Packing everything we needed for the summer on our backs, and on the backs of the dogs, we crossed Lake Angmaloktok, and camped beside a small bay named Kauwaktok at the northwest extremity of the lake where fish were said to be very plentiful. The distance was about five miles. Okalluk's pack, which was exceptionally heavy, must have weighed over two hundred pounds. The Eskimos went fishing as soon as camp was made. The songs that they had learned from the Kanghiryuak natives two or three weeks before were very popular about this time, and every night they were sung in one tent or another.

June20-26: Fishing was carried on as usual. Avranna went hunting one day, using Ikpakhuak's rifle. In his absence Ikpakhuak sighted a bull caribou and wounded it with an arrow, but it escaped. A few loons and ducks and ptarmigan were shot. The natives made lard from the fat of the eider ducks we shot to carry along with them. By the 26th we were threatened with a shortage of food, for our daily catch of fish was very small and the reserves of dried fish and meat that we had brought with us were nearly exhausted. Accordingly the party decided to spread out, and Tutsik and his family moved on this day to a lake a few miles farther north.

June 27: Okalluk and his family moved off to the northeast, Tusayok and his wife and son to the southeast, while the families of Ikpakhuak and Avranna, with myself, went

north by west. On the way we stopped at two lakes to fish, then camped towards evening on the edge of a third lake. Our whole catch for the day was only two small salmon trout and two lake trout.

June 28: We moved again about two miles north to a lake called Sagsagiak laid down our packs, tied up the dogs, and began to fish. This day we had more success. The women abandoned the fishing before the rest of us in order to tidy up the camp.

June 29-July2: The weather was very foggy during the greater part of this period. Caribou were sighted on the 29th while we were fishing, so the next day most of us went hunting. Ikpakhuak, Avranna, Milukkattak and Kanneyuk went north, but a heavy fog settled down soon after they left and they were unable to find their way back to camp for three days. During this interval they fished in various lakes with considerable success, and shot two deer. At night, having neither tent nor sleeping skins, they huddled together on the ground under the shelter of some bank. This little adventure in no way dampened their spirits, however; they were as [134] cheerful as ever when they returned, though somewhat tired from lack of sleep. Higilak was greatly perturbed by their absence. Ske knew they would return as soon as the fog lifted, but she was afraid that her little daughter Kanneyuk would be very cold and miserable; consequently, she held a seance to try and dispel the fog.

July 3: Two causes brought about a further division in our little party. The first was

the probability of finding caribou farther east, the second the apparent abundance of fish in a certain lake to the north. Accordingly Ikpakhuak and his family went east, while Avranna and his wife, with Kanneyuk, went north. Higilak and Haugak were left to transfer all our things to Lake Kullalluk, some four miles away, while Ikpakhuak and I went hunting. We secured two does and two fawns, an eider duck, a ptarmigan and two lake trout before reaching camp again at one o'clock in the morning. A light south breeze was blowing and the weather was warm and clear, so Higilak left our tent behind at the old camp. During the next three days therefore we slept in the open.

July 4: Ikpakhuak and I left about noon to hunt, while Higilak and Haugak fished near camp. Early in the afternoon we met Tutsik. He and his family had experienced very little success in their fishing, so we sent him to our camp to have a feast of deer-meat. He arranged to join us the following day with his wife and son, as Higilak had caught a large number of fish in the lake beside our camp. Our hunting was again successful; we secured two fine bulls. The skins, heads, and legs, with one shoulder blade, we carried back to camp, a distance of about six miles, leaving the remainder for Higilak to bring in later.

July 5: Tutsik and his family joined us about midnight, and, according to custom, produced a little food for us to eat as soon as they arrived, they themselves eating later.

The fishing this day was very successful, 38 trout and 2 salmon.

July 6: Higilak went to bring in the remainder of the caribou we shot on the 4th, but could not find it. In the meantime Ikpakhuak and I packed some meat over to our last camp to deposit in a cache. There we found Avranna and his family, who returned with us to our camp. We brought back our tent with us, rather fortunately, for rain came on in the evening. Avranna and Tutsik made rude shelters of caribou skins for themselves and their families, using their walking-sticks and the handles of ice-chisels and fish-spears for tent poles. During the day Tutsik caught a trout by jigging a line through a crack in the ice and spearing it when it came to nibble at the hook.

July 7-12: Higilak and Kanneyuk, with two dogs, found and brought in the caribou we had shot on the 4th. Ikpakhuak, Avranna and Milukkattak went hunting, carrying a cooking-pot but no tent. They were absent till the 12th, and secured five deer, besides a considerable number of fish. The rest of us fished near camp. On the 8th two loons settled in a lane of water on a lake; Kanneyuk and Kimaktun raced up and down on the ice along the water's edge, frightening them under the water as soon as their heads emerged so that they had no time to take breath and fly away. Tutsik meantime was vainly shooting at them, and when his arrows were exhausted, he bestrode a raft of floating ice, poled along with his fish-spear and recovered them

one after another; finally we shot the birds with the .22 automatic rifle. On the 10th Tutsik and his family departed for their old camp, where they had left their tent and some drying fish.

July 13: Avranna and his family gathered up their fish and meat at Sagsagiak and moved to our old camp at Kauwaktok. Ikpakhuak at the same time conveyed his things to Lake Nanitak, about three miles north of Kauwaktok where Higilak, Haugak and I joined him soon afterwards with the camping equipment. Tutsik, we found, had moved here also. [135]

July 14: The day was spent in fishing. The children caught a longspur with a noose of sinew. Mikinrok in the evening boiled some old deer-meat; it was full of maggots, but the Eskimos ate it with great content.

July 15: We moved again to a bay at the north end of Lake Angmaloktok.

July 16-19: Mosquitoes bothered us a great deal; the Eskimos flapped them from their faces with loon skins. We secured a fair number of fish at this place. Early in the morning of the 18th Higilak went to examine a fox-trap she had set for sea-gulls, and saw several fish swimming in a large pool where a stream from the hillside entered one corner of the lake. She returned and told Ikpakhuak and Tutsik, who seized their spears and waded in after them, securing six. The following day, with Avranna, who had arrived with his family in the meantime, they repeated the process

in another lake and speared 15. The water could not have been above 32° F., for all but this corner of the lake was still ice-bound, yet they waded about in it for fully half an hour, often immersed as high as their hips. It was impossible not to admire their endurance, for their skins were blue with the cold. During the last three or four weeks only the heads of the fish were ever cooked (except for me), the bodies being dried and stored away for the winter. Higilak divined on the 16th.

July 20: We moved to Kauwaktok again. [136]

July 21-29: The Eskimos fished every day in Lake Angmaloktok, the only lake in this neighbourhood that still remained completely ice-bound. Higilak held another shamanistic performance on the 29th.

July 30: The camp was moved to Lake Numikhoin. As soon as we reached our destination the children stripped and played about in the water all the evening.

July 31: After caching a little more meat and fish, we moved south about three miles. Then a caribou was sighted, and the caravan halted to allow us to stalk it. As soon as it was killed Ikpakhuak climbed a ridge and signalled our success by running to and fro three or four times. Thereupon the women pitched the tents, while the children brought over our pack-straps and we carried the carcass to camp.

August 1: We trekked south again. About five miles from the sea was a curious outcrop of dolomite: it resembled in some respects the floor of an old temple, for it

was almost level and the stone was cracked into more or less rectangular blocks. Formerly a kayak had been cached here, on two pillars made by piling some of the blocks on top of one another. The kayak was gone, but the pillars still remained. A caribou was sighted, so we pitched camp and tried to stalk it, but the animal winded us and fled. Every one returned to camp except Ikpakhuak, who followed after it and returned early the following morning with the news that he had shot two caribou.

August 2: We moved west about four miles, then camped close to the caribou that Ikpakhuak had shot. Some of the natives went hunting. Willow and heather were plentiful in this coastal region south of the Colville hills, giving us far better fuel than the okauyak that we had been using. The weather was fine and warm, so Ikpakhuak, instead of setting up his tent, slept out in the open with his wife. However, it rained in the night, and he had to set up his tent after all.

August 3: The rain lasted all through the morning, so we spent an idle day in camp. In the evening three of the Eskimos bathed in a creek; they could 'dog-paddle' for short distances, but had no idea of the art of swimming.

August 4: Several of us went down to Okauyarvik to cache some meat and fish. Ikpakhuak and Avranna separated from us there, and went to look for caribou and birds' eggs. On our way back we raised two ptarmigan with their fledgelings among some

willows. The Eskimos caught the young ones and made them cry in order to attract the parents and bring them within easy range of their arrows; but they succeeded in shooting only one of the birds. We made a slight deviation from our course in order to visit a cache of caribou meat that Ikpakhuak had made the previous summer. The meat proved to be full of maggots, but the dogs had a good feast, and the Eskimos cracked the bones and ate the marrow.

August 5: We packed westward, following the coastline at a distance of about four miles inland. Ikpakhuak and Avranna joined us again just before we made camp.

August 6: We travelled west again and met Okalluk and Tusayok and their families, whom we had not seen since our party broke up on June 27. They joined us in our trek westward. About 5 p.m. two caribou were sighted, so we laid down our packs and went in pursuit of them, leaving four women to make camp. There were no ridges to conceal our approach, so the natives held a council and planned a drive. Milukkattak and Kanneyuk made their way round behind the deer while the men set up a row of stones to fence the deer off on one side, capping the stones with black turf so that they resembled the heads of hunters lying half concealed. On the other [137] side there was a cliff that formed a natural barrier. Between the stone fence and the cliff the hunters concealed themselves at short intervals from each other, Ikpakhuak with his rifle at one end of the line and myself at the other, while the rest

of the natives, armed with bows and arrows, were spaced between us. When all was ready Milukkattak and Kanneyuk howled like wolves behind the deer to set them in motion towards us, but the animals broke back past them and fled in the wrong direction.

August 7: The Eskimos had run out of food, so we broke camp breakfastless and trekked west. Coming to a swift-running stream about three feet deep, the natives removed their trousers and footgear, tucked up the long tails of their coats and waded across. Some brant were sighted in a lake and the natives shot six of them with their arrows. Part of the meat, raw though it was, they ate immediately, having fasted since the day before; the remainder was kept for the evening meal. After camp had been made Higilak held a seance to find out why the caribou were so scarce.

August 8: After a breakfast of back-fat and a little raw brant we broke camp and moved westward again about fifteen miles. As soon as the tents were pitched the men went hunting in different directions, but without success. Tutsik saw an old-squaw duck swimming in a pond with its young, so he took off his trousers and waded about in the water, shooting arrow after arrow till at last he transfixed it. The young birds he scorned to trouble about.

August 9: Avranna and his wife, who had moved along parallel to us the day before two or three miles farther inland in order to scour the country more thoroughly, brought

some cooked deer-meat over to our camp about 9 a. m. I had given him a .22 automatic rifle and he had shot a caribou with it. All the men went hunting during the day and secured a large bull.

August 10: Pissuak and his family, who had separated from us in the middle of June, joined us again this day, so our little party was once more united. Pissuak and his people had been very successful in their hunting and fishing, and had left two or three caches of food in the Colville hills and one on the coast. The whole party moved west again after this union. The weather was very sultry all day and our packs heavy, so when we reached a lagoon of clear sparkling water most of the natives stripped and bathed. This was the only occasion during the whole summer on which the adults bathed, though the children often played in the water.

August 11: We moved west again, Avranna and Okalluk keeping a mile or so north of the main party. A caribou was sighted after a few miles, so we made camp and most of the men went hunting. Three small deer were killed. During the day Itkellrok, Pissuak's wife, carried not only her usual pack, but her little girl Hanna as well, sometimes astride her bundle, sometimes across it. This must have brought the weight of her load up to more than 100 pounds.

August 12: We broke camp and began to move west again, despite a westerly gale. Crossing a broad sandy plain named Kiasiktorvik, we sighted a herd of fifteen car-

ibou grazing quietly on a grassy slope. A drive was organized and eight of them shot, Avranna securing four, and Ikpakhuak and myself each two. Pissuak fired several shots at the deer with his rifle, but always missed. He was so disappointed that he would have gone out hunting again immediately if his wife and the other natives had not dissuaded him. Avranna and his wife, on the other hand, were greatly elated, and maintained a constant chorus of congratulatory remarks with each other in their tent.

August 13-14: We remained at this place (beside Lake Kiasiktorvik) for two days, the meat we had accumulated being too heavy to carry along with us. On the 13th the men went out hunting again, and Pissuak and Avranna [138] each secured a caribou. On the 14th everyone stayed in camp and feasted. During the day the natives set up a clod of earth for a target and shot at it with their arrows. The children played about, bathing in the lake and shooting at imaginary deer from miniature pits.

August 15: We divided into two bands and moved westward again. Ikpakhuak, Avranna, Tusayok and their families travelled along three or four miles in from the shore, while the rest went farther inland. Our party (Ikpakhuak's), after securing three caribou, camped for the night beside a lake called Tasieluk, about three miles long and a mile wide, situated directly below Mount Arrowsmith, which the natives call Annorillit.

August 16: Instead of migrating this day the Eskimos went hunting, but they obtained nothing except a brown crane.

August 17: We packed west to the Kugaluk river, securing one caribou after the camp was pitched. While travelling the natives caught three small fish from 4 inches to 6 inches long that had come up the river from the sea. These they ate raw, though heather and willow were plentiful all around us.

August 18: We had now accumulated so much green meat that the Eskimos determined to dry it, thereby both preserving it and making it lighter to carry. Early in the morning therefore they strung it across some poles in the sunlight, and left it in charge of Hakka, Tusayok's wife. Her husband left her his tent, taking for himself and his son only a few caribou skins. We then packed northwest across the stream Attautsikkiak to a huge crag named Kunuamnak on the forward slope of Mount Kingmiktorvik. A yearling caribou was sighted about noon and shot by Avranna, who cached the meat under some stones. Another caribou was shot near our evening camp.

August 19: Three caribou were sighted from the camp in the morning and a drive was organised, but only one of them was secured. Ikpakhuak then went down to the shore to look for driftwood, and returned in the evening with a large board studded with nails, and with several smaller pieces of wood. The board had probably dropped

overboard from a whaling ship and drifted ashore at this place.

August 20: Snow fell in the night, but it changed to rain in the morning. The Eskimos stayed in bed till it ceased, singing, playing, gossiping and sleeping. Later in the day Ikpakhuak and Tusayok split up the plank to make fish spear handles.

August 21: A gale was blowing and snow falling at intervals during the morning. We broke camp nevertheless and trekked north for our food supply was running low again. About 1 p. m. we were stopped by a blinding snowstorm and had to pitch camp and dine on raw meat and back-fat, as it was impossible to light a fire. Raw meat to the natives is about the equivalent of bread and butter diet to us, while caribou back-fat, raw or cooked, is luxury corresponding to jam.

August 22: We packed north about two miles, when we sighted caribou. A drive was organised and three killed, one by Tusayok with an arrow; it was the first caribou he had secured the whole summer. The sky cleared during the day and the snow melted rapidly, but the wind was very keen. Higilak, who had brought only one coat, improvised a second one out of Kanneyuk's sleeping bag; she ripped out the stitches in the morning before we began packing and sewed the skin up again at night.

August 23: We moved a few miles north again, securing three caribou. Higilak and Milukkattak were the only women in our party, and the latter spent much of her time in hunting. Nearly all the cooking therefore fell on Higilak, who found her work

rather strenuous. The children, Kanneyuk and Haugak, generally gathered the fuel for her, willow twigs or heather, whichever was nearer to hand. Besides the cooking she had to mend the [139] footgear of the whole family, five persons including myself. This in itself was no light task, since the seal-skin soles of our boots used to wear right through after two day's trekking over the stony ground. Milukkattak had only Avranna's boots and her own to mend, though later I induced her to mend mine also, thereby relieving Higilak of a little work. The skins of the deer we shot were scraped by both the men and the women, after which they were laid out on the ground to dry.

August 24: We trekked north again, securing one caribou.

August 25: We trekked north for about three miles, and shot two polar bears, a mother and her cub.

August 26: Our camp was moved about four miles north to the place where the carcass of the mother bear was lying. Here we remained four days, feasting on the bear until the greater part of it was consumed. The dogs were so satiated with meat and fat they [sic] they could scarcely move. Meanwhile our caribou skins were drying, so that by the time we came to trek again they had lost half their original weight. Caribou were sighted on the 27th, and we secured four as the result of a drive. The skins, sinew, back-fat and leg bones were taken back to camp, the remainder

was cached in stone cairns for the use of the Eskimos in the following summer. Tusayok and Kesullik departed on the 29th to return to our old camp at Kugaluk, where they had left Hakka with their tent.

August 30: We started back for the Kugaluk river, carrying with us a large quantity of bear-fat to take the place of seal-blubber in our lamps when we should reach Lake Numikhoin again. Our packs were very heavy, so we camped early in the afternoon after travelling only about five miles. Avranna had found a plank on the shore two days before while he was away hunting, and had trimmed it a little to make a sled-runner. He and Ikpakhuak now went down to the beach and brought it in to camp.

August 31-September 1: The natives decided that a new sled-runner was not needed, so Ikpakhuak split the plank to make tent poles, using an antler for a wedge and a large stone as a mallet. The chips came in useful for fuel, since both willow and heather were scarce in our immediate vicinity. The natives went hunting on the 31st, and killed two yearling caribou. The rest of the time was spent in feasting. There was a lake near the camp almost divided into two by a long sand-bar. Round its margin numbers of young salmon trout, from an inch to an inch and a half long, were hiding under the stones and boulders. Milukkattak and Kanneyuk idled away several hours in catching them; all that they caught they devoured immediately.

September 2: We broke camp and travelled south about 14 miles to the Kugaluk river, where we rejoined Tusayok and his family. Kesullik had caught a few lake trout in the river, and Hakka boiled them for our supper.

September 3-4: The women boiled down all the caribou back-fat that we had accumulated, and ran the tallow into bags so that the dogs could carry them on their backs. Rain fell each night and morning, but the sky cleared before noon. Near our camp the river had cut through a bed of dolomite running southeast by northwest at right angles to its course. The gorge thus formed was about 300 yards long and from 50 to 100 yards wide, with perpendicular cliffs about 40 feet high. The Eskimos jigged their lines from a ledge half way down the face of the cliff, and caught about a score of lake trout from the deep pool below. Just below the gorge, from the bed of the river, they gathered several lumps of pyrites, which they kept for striking fire.

September 5: Our plan now was to return to Okauyarvik and intercept the caribou as they migrated south. We therefore trekked east on this day, [140] and camped after about eight miles beside a lake on the north side of Mount Arrowsmith. The Eskimos caught a few fish here by rocking the boulders that lay one on top of another near the margin of the lake, and spearing the fish as they darted out from under them. Kesullik used a small double gaff for this purpose, but the rest of the natives merely lashed broad pieces of antler to their walking-sticks. The fish varied in length from

3 inches to 1 foot.

September 6: We continued our journey southeast for about seven miles, and camped beside a large lake named Pisiksitorvik, where many of the Hanerak natives had fallen sick and died several years before. Our stock of food was running low again, though we still had a good supply of lard. All the men went hunting as soon as the tents were pitched, and shot three caribou about three miles away. It was then almost dark, so the hunters left most of the meat to be picked up next day, and carried only the skins and two shoulders to camp.

September 7: We moved to where the caribou lay, and the women cut up the carcasses. Some of the meat was cooked at once, the remainder was stored away in bags for future consumption. The short summer season was now at an end and all the smaller lakes were beginning to freeze over again.

September 8: While Higilak was cooking some deer-meat for our breakfast several of the Eskimos went fishing; half their breakfast therefore was made up of raw fish. We packed southeast again, camping at dusk in the bed of a dried-up stream where willows were plentiful.

September 9: We packed east again through a meadow clothed with Eriophorum seeds, which the women gathered for their lamps. No caribou were seen all day, consequently the dogs had to go hungry. We ourselves had a little dried meat and some

lard for supper.

September 10: There was a heavy fall of snow in the night, and a blizzard raged throughout the day. We had to move on nevertheless, for our supplies were running low again. There was no hope of sighting any caribou through the clouds of driving snow, and as the weather was cold and our packs heavy we camped early, about 4 p. m.

September 11: We moved east to Tipfiktok, though the weather continued very stormy. Two small caribou were shot during the day. All the smaller lakes were frozen over by this time.

September 12: We packed east to Epiullik, where Pissuak's people had cached their goods in the spring. To reach it we had to cross a lake named Tunungeok, which was covered with glare ice about 3 inches thick. The Eskimos laid down their packs and dragged them across the lake, placing their walking-sticks underneath to act as sled-runners. Higilak proposed to divine in the evening, to discover why caribou were so scarce, but for some reason or other the performance did not take place.

September 13: Pissuak and the other natives who had left us on August 15 made their appearance today; they had travelled back to Lake Angmaloktok to fish. Higilak's divining performances, postponed from yesterday, took place this evening.

September 14: The whole party had intended to remain at Epiullik to intercept the returning caribou, but Ikpakhuak now changed his mind and determined to go to

Okauyarvik instead. He and his family, therefore, myself included, packed east again, and camped about three miles inland beside a small lake from which we could obtain water.

September 15-October 13: We remained at Okauyarvik for nearly a month caribou hunting. On the 15th Higilak went down to our caches on the coast and brought back, among other things, a sealskin tent which could be used as a kitchen. During the next few days she gathered a large quantity [141] of willow twigs for fuel, before the winter snow had completely buried them. She gathered too some Eriophorum seeds for lamp-wicks, and tufty moss roots, mannik, for torches. Her real lamp was at Lake Numikhoin, in the Colville hills, but she improvised a lamp from a hollow stone about 4 inches in diameter; at first she burnt bear-fat in it, but later, when Ikpakhuak shot a bearded seal, she used the ordinary blubber. During the first days of our stay Ikpakhuak made a semi-circular stone shelter on top of a ridge near the camp which would command a wide view over the surrounding country; every day one or other of us would spend several hours there watching for caribou. He speared a few salmon, too, in one of the lakes. They were bright red at this season, and mating; one could see them chasing each other round boulders under the ice. On the ice off-shore he

shot four bearded seals. Idle hours in camp were spent in helping Higilak to scrape the caribou skins. On the 21st Tutsik, Okalluk and Tusayok with their families came over from Epiullik and camped beside us. They left us again on October 3 to return to Lake Numikhoin, for there was very little chance of their securing any caribou in our vicinity, seeing that they had bows and arrows only, while both Ikpakhuak and myself were using rifles. We gave them, however, some of the carcasses and skins for helping to discover the deer and pack the meat. Ikpakhuak and Higilak secured a few sculpins at the mouth of the Okauyarvik creek early in the month; Higilak had no proper spear, but she lashed one of my forks to the end of her walking-stick and stabbed the fish with that. The weather became rapidly colder, so on October 5, she took down the cloth tent in which we had been sleeping since the spring, and wrapped it round our sealskin kitchen; outside of this again she laid several deerskins. The sealskin tent lay in a hollow, banked round with a low wall of turf, so our new dwelling, though small, was warm and comfortable. Avranna and his wife joined us on the 10th. By the 13th the caribou seemed to have all disappeared, having migrated apparently to the south-east. All the deer we had shot (about thirty-five) were cached under the stones wherever they had fallen, for we intended to gather them up early in the winter, just before the sealing season opened. The skins, the back-fat and the sinew we cached on the shore, where Ikpakhuak now recovered his sled.

Its wooden runners were quite bare, for their mud shoeing had dropped off during the summer, and the runners had never been shod with whale's bone.

October 14: We set out for our old camp at Lake Numikhoin to gather up our caches there and to fish again in the adjacent lakes. Everything was loaded on Ikpakhuak's sled. Numerous patches of bare stony ground made it drag heavily; even on the snow it was hard to pull along, because it had no mud shoeing. At dusk we found a deep snow drift, and Ikpakhuak was able to make a circular wall of snow-blocks, which he roofed over with our tent skins; Avranna did the same for his family.

October 15: We broke camp early in the morning and reached Lake Numikhoin shortly before dark. Okalluk and the other natives had left the place a few days before, so we utilized two of their deserted snow huts. Higilak immediately recovered her stone lamp from one of the caches and warmed up our dwelling.

October 16-18: Ikpakhuak and Avranna dismantled their caches and covered the runners of their sleds with mud shoeing. We fished in various lakes at odd times and caught a few trout.

October 19: The sleds were loaded up at daybreak and we travelled east by south for about five miles to Lake Kigiaktallik, the source of the Okauyarvik creek. Here we found the rest of our party, except Pissuak and his family, who were still at Epiullik. The natives were living in snow huts on the margin of the lake and steadily fishing

each day through holes in the ice.[142]

October 20-21: The women and children fished near camp, while the men collected the dried fish and meat from their various caches and fished in lakes more remote. By the 21st we were ready to start for the coast again.

October 22-29: We entered the Okauyarvik creek at the south-east corner of Lake Kigiaktallik and followed it down to its mouth. Caribou were sighted after a few miles, and we camped to enable Ikpakhuak and Avranna to go in pursuit of them. The first night we slept in snow huts, the second in tents with snow passages, as the snow was too shallow for proper houses. We halted one day, the 24th, to fish in a lake. The other natives continued the journey on the 25th, but Ikpakhuak and his family stayed behind to enable him to go hunting. He shot a caribou, so his family stayed over another day while he brought it in to camp. We overtook the other natives at Okauyarvik falls, about four miles from the mouth of the creek, on the 28th, and reached the coast on the following day.

October 30-November 8: This was the transitional period between the summer and the winter life. Pissuak and his family joined us on the 6th, so that our whole party was united again as in the spring. The women were busy making our winter clothing; one or two of them had already begun the task in the hills, but they had been too busy fishing and travelling to make much progress. Higilak went out one morning

with her husband's ice-chisel and chipped a rectangular block of fresh-water ice from a lake to make a window for the hut and give her more light for sewing. One or two more deer were shot while we were bringing in the carcasses of those we had killed and cached a few weeks before, and the pokes of blubber that had been left on Read island in the spring were collected again and brought in to camp. Ikpakhuak replastered the runners of his sled, for the mud shoeing he had put on at Lake Numikhoin had been badly chipped by stones when we descended the Okauyarvik creek. He made too a new head for his harpoon, and in odd moments scraped several skins for Higilak. By November 7 the strait was frozen solid, so early the next morning he and I started out with a light sled and crossed over to Bernard harbour. The others followed us a week later, and remained beside our station till the end of the month, when they crossed over to the Liston and Sutton islands and commenced sealing."

"April 22. En Route towards Coronation Gulf. We took spyglass survey first thing in morning. Saw pair of erect sticks to southeast and to make sure they weren't signals from our party (Billy, Pan. and Tan.) I walked southeast about four miles to them while Ilav. started north along coast with sled. Found remains of rack approximately five to ten years old, and frame of native umiak, carelessly made, small, and nailed with iron nails, evidently ships' natives. Ilav. went about eight miles north and camped.

April 26. Cape Lyon. Food Tastes. Tannaumirk eats only ugrug (bearded seal) when both it and bear (barren ground) are cooked. He says it does not taste so very bad, but he can't stand the smell. Old John, a German sailor with most of such men's food prejudices, says it is the 'best meat in the Arctic' for it 'tastes and looks just like pork.' He does not like caribou, saying it is 'watery' and prefers salt beef every day to deer meat even once a week for a change. All of us here prefer bear to ugrug except Tan. This is the first barren ground bear he has eaten, except some tainted and mildy bear meat he ate and liked at Langton Bay in January. He has eaten many polar bears and is fond of their meat. All the rest of us prefer barren ground bear."

"April 29. Near Point Pearce. House ruins. Besides the up-ended stones referred to above we found just west of our camp (one hundred yards) a wood pile, probably a grave which seems more recent than the houses on Parry or Langton Bay. Wood scarce just at our camp, so used earth. Billy saw three house ruins at the next point east. I shall look at these tomorrow. [225]

April 30. On examining ruins found by Billy yesterday I found six house sites where he had found three, it was blizzarding then. The houses were apparently about rectangular, though the caving-in has given them a doughnut appearance. Interior dimensions of largest about eight by fifteen feet. There were found only three stubs of sticks sticking up that had apparently been parts of the walls. None stood over a foot above ground. Though none were over four inches in diameter, none were decayed enough to break with a sharp blow with the foot. Six or seven pieces of wood lying aimlessly about, none decayed badly, though lying on sod or moss. All good firewood. These may be more recent, of course, than the houses, the leavings of a summer camp, though no one would probably camp here after the ice goes off, as the boat landing seems bad and there is no wood for fuel, while plenty on the other side of the hill some two hundred yards away. Carrying wood there (plenty on the other side of the hill) would be difficult as it would be over a hill about one hundred fifty feet high; there is no beach around. No rafters seen in the ruins, or other sticks than those

standing up as erect stumps, but these would be under the earth of the roof naturally enough. Fragments of vertebrae of small whale (bowhead or 'inyutok') in walls of one house. Small rocks half the size of a man's head mixed with the earth of what had been walls. Highest portions of 'doughnut rings' left by caving walls and not over eighteen inches, average a foot.

Houses seem somewhat older than the most recent at Flanders Point, Herschel Island, that are known to date back to 1890 only. These here, however, are probably much older. They are on a terrace about thirty feet above sea level and have black rock for a background. They may have been standing though not seen when Richardson passed. He says: 'to the eastward of Cape Parry .... we met with no villages, though solitary winter-houses occur here and there on the coast.' (Searching Exp., Vol. 2, p. 348.) Doors of houses faced the east apparently and some at least had passageways six feet long. Mackenzie River houses are often a good twenty feet. Many things may have escaped me on account of snow covering them."

2: Stefansson--225-226 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
825, 117

"Beliefs concerning Caribou. Tannaumirk relates: In former times bull caribou when fighting would often get their horns interlocked and die thus or be killed. This interlocking may sometimes have happened naturally, but he knows that it was often caused by some chance watcher giving a twist to his hood; i. e., throwing the hood back from the head and giving it a complete turn with the hand, as one would twist a wet cloth in wringing it. Pannigabluk adds that her mother once saw bucks fighting. She twisted her hood and they promptly became interlocked, but the prongs of the horns were not strong enough and after a struggle the ones that held got broken off and the bucks went free. Billy has heard of bucks being thus caught, but has never seen it tried."

2: Stefansson--226 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
493, 117

"May 2. En Route to Coronation Gulf. Sleds. On seeing accidentally the picture of a 'kutchin' sled in the frontispiece of Richardson's 'Second Journey' Pan. and Billy both said it was like a Kuwûrmiut sled, P. said 'just like'; Billy said he had seen most of them with the rear end a little lower in the runner bend than the front end. He has owned one sled bought in the Kuwûk 'for a rifle, when rifles were yet valuable.' It was longer than any sled he has seen at Herschel, though some of them must be sixteen or eighteen feet long. Kuwûk sleds never had shod runners, neither did they, he says, ever shoe them with ice or ice them even slightly. The runners were of ūrūrrĭ-lĭk, or canoe birch. It was the best sled he ever used for snow, but very poor crossing ice."

2: Stefansson--226 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
172, 117

"May 2. Near Roscoe River. Village Ruin. Pannigabluk, in making a short cut where the sled went farther off shore, came upon a ruined village on a sandspit. She did not count the houses but thinks they were over twenty. There were numerous sticks upright, some the remains of racks. She says the village looked older than that at Flanders Point on Herschel Island. If our camp was yesterday at Roscoe River, then these houses would be about five to eight miles east of it by her account. Driftwood in large quantities at this village site, she says. Saw two or three 'up-ended' stones inland."

2: Stefansson--226-227 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
515, 264, 117

"May 3. Eskimo Cleanliness. Certain remarks and deeds of Pannigabluk's today prompt me to enter certain things about Eskimo cleanliness, etc. Pan. will clean dog excrementoff a sole of a pair of boots with her ulu, wipe it casually with a rag that may have had as bad uses a dozen times before, and then proceed to eat with the ulu or cut up with it food for cooking. She will not use the same spoon twice in a half hour to stir her own tea without wiping it between times with the same rag, if it so falls, with which she has just wiped the ulu. Most of the Eskimo I know will pick up and eat without concern a piece of blubber, cooked meat, raw meat, fish etc., that falls on the floor, no matter in what state the floor is,but most of them would throw away a piece of bread that dropped in the same way. I noticed this especially in Roxy's house. He has been with the police a great deal, and seen them throw away such pieces; naturally, they less often would drop meat, etc., than bread, besides meats are native foods and the [227] customs with regard to them are of long standing. In times of scarcity they will eat their own foods to the last scrap and take pride always in a clean picked bone, but I never saw a bacon rind eaten, nor even shaved close in time of necessity. E.g., I gave bacon to Kunaluk's starving family last spring, he threw away nearly a fourth of the bacon with the rind.

Most Eskimo wash religiously every morning. Usually, they soap profusely and leave it unrinsed on the face. Few of them seem to care if the water is dirty. In

Ovayuak's house up to twenty would wash from the same water or until the dish was empty. Then the towel passes around, the same for months, and occasionally a nose blown into it incidentally.

On my telling Pan. one day that certain water was dirty she said that was no matter, she was just going to wash the teapot inside with it. I am considered a sort of renegade because I insist on the teapots and my own cup remaining unwashed. I have often heard my natives tell strangers that with many good qualities I have the failing, differing thus from most white men, of caring little for cleanliness in my food utensils. That I prefer manifestly dirty dishes to apparently clean ones in an Eskimo house, is considered a curious eccentricity; some seem to think it is 'put on'.

Pan. will sometimes wash a pot thoroughly with an ancient dish rag and then use the water to make soup. She will hook with the dirtiest finger to the bottom of a cup of tea or water to get a deer hair, of which she conceived me, in common with 'all' white men to be in horror, in spite of my protests that I rather am fond of hair in my food. I have known no Eskimo to contract the white man's horror of hairs in food. As with us, white cloth garments must be washed, a dark one may be as dirty as it will."

2: Stefansson--227 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
493, 117

"May 4. West of Point De Witt Clinton. Sled. Billy improvised out of the bearskin a sled of a type new to me, except from hearsay. He merely laced it into a bag and attached the bag by the head-skin to the rear end of our sled. On level snow its two hundred pound weight can be pulled by a small dog; on glare ice it is a bit sticky; in rough going its weight comes in play, of course. To have this behind the sled rather than on it may or may not increase the average hauling weight, but it is a convenient way, and I am afraid of two hundred pounds more on the sled, a breakdown would be serious."

2: Stefansson--227 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
533. 117

"Songs. Eskimo songs seem to need explaining. Tan. knows a great many, most of them composed by Ovoyuak or others he knows. When he sings them he always explains after the song what it means--'what it says' (i.e., gōx). Then he sings it over again after telling 'what it says.'

2: Stefansson--227-228 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
533, 117

"May 8. Near Crocker River. Songs. Pannigabluk sang today a song consisting chiefly of a repetition of atöyöa kenöyöa which she says she learned when young among the Unalit. This song has an irresistible [228] tendency to suggest the music of 'The Darling of the Gods' which I suppose to have been based on Japanese melodies. I have noticed before that she sings songs much resembling the one Indian tune heard all along the Mackenzie. This, too, she says, is Unalit."

2: Stefansson--228-229 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
362, 117

"May 12. Point Hope. A Deserted Snowhouse Village. Saw tracks of two men with a sled getting wood from Point Hope. Camped tonight at a deserted snowhouse village. There are over forty houses, how many more I do not know; part of the village is completely snowed over under the cutbank. All seem to have had skin or gut windows, the window directly [229] above the door, and the door usually facing south, though in some cases north. Every window about twenty by twenty inches. Were in one house, about seven and a half feet high inside, ten feet in diameter, and with a U-shaped bend along walls, facing door about fifteen inches high. This, Tan. says was the support for the bed boards laid across the house. Seal and ptarmigan leavings; food plenty, as sealskins lying around, dogs would eat them if hungry. People evidently came for wood, from Victoria Island. Houses about two months old, or less. (1)"

"1. [Stefansson's comment, p. 452.] The deserted village in question was at Cape Bexley and not Point Hope.

The reference to windows here (and in many other places) is an error. These were holes made in the house wall for convenience in loading sleds at breaking camp. Ice windows are, however, sometimes used both in fall and spring. Ice from ponds or rivers is usually used and the same window is hauled from camp to camp and used over and over. While the weather is very cold these windows are commonly well up in the roof, but towards spring they may be placed lower in the wall to prevent melting."

2: Stefansson--229-230 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
574, 609, 117

"May 13. Following Trail of People toward Victoria Island. Started 2:30 P. M. on trail of people leading towards Victoria Island after moving Pannigabluk who did not want to go and then camped east about half mile to some wood. Main trail perhaps two months old and hard to follow, but one new sled track, about two weeks. At about 4:30, some eight miles from our camp came upon a village of houses, which showed by fish spears, etc., that people intended returning. From roof of one house saw with glasses three men, some three miles northwest, sealing evidently. Headed for nearest. Before getting to them, saw a deserted village about in our former course, 320° by compass, some five miles from one first seen. Getting near first man B. and I halted team while T. went ahead to try not to frighten him by all approaching. The man sat on his snow seat bent forward as if watching for seal, occasionally raising his eyes only not his head to T. When T. got within some paces man suddenly stood up, seized an iron snow-knife that lay on the snow beside him, and poised himself as to receive an attack or to be ready to spring forward. This scared T. and he went no nearer, but started to talk. The other never smiled or paid attention for some time repeating monotonously (about twenty times a minute, as often as one breathes) he-ha-ha-ha, etc. Evidently he at first understood nothing of what T. said, but he soon began to. Then he began talking and T. did not understand. T., however, knew from Kalakutak (who was both with Mogg and Klinkenberg) a Victoria Island phrase; i-ly-er-a-nait-tū-ar-al-u-ĭt (they are good)

which he then used, and showed by lifting his coat he had no knife. After about five minutes of parley Igxslirki laid down the knife and soon after began an examination of T.'s clothing, which seemed to satisfy him we were harmless he had probably heard of 'calico' from Victoria Island people. He then told T. to tell B. and me to follow a little way behind while he went along a line of sealers to tell that we were ilyeranaittuaraluit. We came near forgetting to remove our goggles. If we had, I don't think our first meeting with these people would have gone well. The village proved to be southwest about three miles, we had gone past it. [230] When we arrived within a hundred yards of the houses, they asked if we would camp near them, or a little way off on account of the dogs. We preferred to be a little way off and as many as could get at it turned-to to make us a snowhouse. (4)"

"4. [Stefansson's comment, p. 452.] On p. 229 and elsewhere the people who built this Bexley village are called Victoria Islanders. We later learnt that the people most numerous were the Akkuliakattagmiut who may be considered at home when at Bexley. Next in numbers were the Haneragmiut of the Victoria coast west of Simpson Bay and Noahonirmiut of the mainland near the narrows of Dolphin and Union Straits. There were a few representatives of several tribes farther east. The village was a trading rendezvous."

2: Stefansson--230 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
352, 117

"All the people seem to carry with them dwarf willow for bedding and their skins are polar bear, seal, and deer. The lamp is on a platform usually of two parallel bars two feet above the floor and resting one on a piece of snow on edge, the other on a bar at right angles also stuck through the wall. This is about eighteen inches above the lamp stand and from it is swung the pot, while above is a long narrow frame for drying socks, etc. In front of the lamp is a sideboard from twelve to twenty-four inches wide on which rest the ulu, dipper, pieces of meat to be cooked or that are cooling, parings of blubber trimmed off too fat meat, etc. When this gets pretty well littered it is scraped clean, the litter being pushed over the back edge of it and falling in a pile about under the lamp. This is periodically gathered up for dog feed."

2: Stefansson--230 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
333, 342, 117

" Victoria Island. Snowhouses. Snowhouse building differs here somewhat from the Kittegaryuit who build in a regular spiral from the ground up and cut the snow usually outside the house. Here the snow is probed with a probe about four feet long to see if it is good quality down to the ice and the ice level. Blocks are then cut from the floor of the house first, and so as to have their transverse diameter vertical. The Kittegaryuit are particular about the size of the blocks having them about uniform. These cut blocks any shape and size, some like a "four square" timber and anything from a foot to four feet long, some squares, some triangles, etc. The wall is not started in a spiral, our north wall was well up when someone else started the south wall equally irregularly. When the roof part is in construction the blocks are more regular in shape and of more uniform quality. There was not enough snow in the floor for much more than half the house, a few blocks were spoiled for the snow was not good. The house was about circular and about eight feet to the dome, diameter about ten feet. Outside to a height of about three feet, a second wall is built outside the first, about eighteen inches from it, and soft snow thrown in between. An oval shaped hallway about four feet high was built southwest and just east of it a rectangular shaped door cut about three feet high and two feet wide, through which snow blocks were passed in. When house was finished this was walled up and a new door arch-shaped about two and a half feet high, cut in from entry. The sleeping platform is built of the pieces that break and of new

blocks passed in to front it, with loose snow shoveled over. In our case the platform is about eighteen inches, but I have seen it two and a half feet, in which case it consists of a horseshoe-shaped bench left or built around the wall and boards laid across."

2: Stefansson--231 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
181, 576, 609, 117

"May 14. General Characteristics of the People. The people, as Mogg's and Klinkenberg's people report from Victoria Island, are apparently of superior type. They look clean as compared with Baillie, for instance, and are models of good behavior. In fact, have manners towards strangers such as I do not suppose any white men have ever honored themselves by showing to any branch of the Eskimo race. There is interest, but no forward curiosity shown with regard to all the strange things we have and do; no laughter at a dialect which must seem funny to them; the greatest courtesy in everything, --the best seal for the visitor; the first choice of food; continual expressions of friendship; no questions as to why we came. No spitting out and calling 'bad' food we give them to taste, though all say 'We are not used to it and do not like the taste.' The same with smoking. 'We do not expect people from far away to have no manners different from us, so go ahead and smoke,' but several have had to leave the house when T. and B. smoked together. Continual invitations to come and eat though they are short of food, got three seals yesterday for thirty-eight people, an average catch, and continued bringing presents of blubber for our lamp and meat to cook, small pieces, for there is little to give. The snow today keeps melting in holes from sun, and each house is carefully patched as it appears, our clothes are carefully brushed of the least particle of snow in entering a house. On could particularize endlessly, but the sum is courtesy and good breeding with generous kindness."

2: Stefansson--231 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
326, 412, 117

"May 14. Use of Copper. There is probably not a single copper implement here, though some ulus etc., are nailed with copper rivets.

Iron Implements. Their iron comes from the 'Uallirrmiut,' whose location is not yet clear to me. They have iron pots, frying pans, snow knives, etc. The knives are all made by themselves, apparently."

2: Stefansson--232 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
515, 117

"Both sexes use the hair frequently for toothpicks, in manner of 'tooth-silk'. This I have never seen before."

2: Stefansson--232
302, 117

(1908-12) 1914

Copper Eskimo

"Method of Wearing the Hair. The women do not braid or apparently tend the hair much, but I have seen only one woman (no man) who apparently is lousy. The men cut the entire top of the head close in a horizontal line a half inch above the ears, and wear the back hair loose."

2: Stefansson--232 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
304, 117

"Tattooing. The women, most or all, tattooed. The lines down the forehead are (the two) everywhere equidistant (about 1/4 in.) from each other, go half way down the nose, and are, the inner, one inch, the outer 1 1/2 inch, apart where they end at the roots of the hair. The only old woman here has her forehead bald an inch or two back, and the lines end where her hair formerly ended. The eye design varied. The cheek lines I have seen did not vary. They extend from nostrils slanting up to ear, meet at nose and are about quarter of an inch apart at ear. The chin lines I have seen varied from five to seven and equidistant in pairs."

2: Stefansson--232 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
291, 117

"Clothing. The clothes are of the general style of those I got from Mogg (Victoria Island--Prince Albert Sound) but vary greatly, no two being quite alike. The swallow-tail is usually to knee and never below calf of leg, and from six inches to fifteen inches wide. Some coats are cut about as our 'frock' coats. One has almost a horizontal lower line and reaches almost to knees. The sleeves are generally short and the mittens not quite to wrist, leaving the wrist bare, all but snowhouse-building gauntlets. The pants and coat barely meet in front, typically, and when one reaches arms above head the abdomen and chest are bare from an inch or so below the navels to above the nipples, for the coats are very badly cut at the shoulders, --for a man about a foot broader than the wearer. On some women's coats the shoulders are nearer the elbow than the shoulder. Outside their pants, the women wear two huge pairs of leggings fitting loose around the thigh suspended from a belt. They must fill with snow in a blizzard. Both sexes wear slippers over leggings. Two men froze to death last winter, old men following the trail behind a party. It is a wonder half of them don't freeze to death."

2: Stefansson--232-233 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
304, 117

"Tattooing. The most common number of chin lines is five. The lines are in general quarter of an inch apart at top and half an inch at bottom, being all curved but the middle one. They begin about one-half inch below [233] edge of lip mucous and end where they would disappear from the view of a person whose eyes were on a level with those of the wearer. The hand designs seem to be unlimited in number and form. A rather common one is an M-shaped figure across the back of the hand. The back of the hand is pretty well covered. The arrow-heads at the eye angles decrease in size backward from the eyes generally. The point of the arrows is somewhere between the line of the angle of the eye and that of the upper brim of the lower eyelid when the eye is open. The cheek lines are parallel till about two inches from the nose, when they converge. In one case they do not meet. The nearest arrow point is about in the wrinkle, usually, of the angle when the eye is closed tight. The inner of the forehead lines meet and end abruptly at the line of the inner ends of the eyebrows; the outer meet just below angle of eyes at top of nose and are prolonged down, Y-fashion to the middle of the nose. Have seen no tattoo on men."

2: Stefansson--233
415, 117

(1908-12) 1914

Copper Eskimo

"Lamps. The largest lamp I have seen must be forty inches long and weigh fifty pounds. The largest pot is about thirty inches by eight and eight inches deep, flat bottom."

2: Stefansson--233 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
342, 117

"Windows. Windows are not in use now, though all the abandoned houses we saw had them, both on shore and the two sea villages. Evidently they are to catch the faint light. Either ice was never used or else sledded away to new houses."

2: Stefansson--233
262, 117

(1908-12) 1914

Copper Eskimo

"Blubber Eating. The people here pare off the blubber from fresh seal meat too closely to suit me, or any of us. When I asked for parings (pared off after boiling) they were surprised. I have not seen them eat any blubber or oil, but they evidently expected me to prefer the raw. I have seen no 'sour' oil. All Eskimo I know (till these) set forward an oil pot, fresh, if there is no 'sour' at every meal."

2: Stefansson--233 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
412, 117

"Needles. The needles I have seen are all made by Eskimo. They are of the 'glover's' type and vary in size from darning needles to 'glovers No 3.' Some have a smaller eye than 'glovers No. 3'."

2: Stefansson--233 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
142, 117

"Complexion. The complexion is a good deal darker than our two men, who have been much outdoors, though the ice may sunburn more than the shore. Some are as dark as half-blood negroes.

Hands. The hands are typically Eskimo in general, but one woman (twenty-five or thirty years, approximately) has the long fingers that I have seen only in half-bloods. She has no other marked non-Eskimo characters."

2: Stefansson--234 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
551, 117

"Names. Names are given here with a freedom not found to the present to the westward, even among people who have worked on ships. Among Kittegaryuit people, the name is never given you by the man himself when you ask him, but always by a bystander, here each as he first sees you says: 'I am So-and-so; what is your name?" When we arrived here, Tan. had to repeat his name to every man as they went along the line of sealers, each sealer giving his own name in return. After we got to the village, those who had not seen us before always gave their own names before asking ours."

2: Stefansson--234 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
837, 117

"'Modesty.' Have seen no signs of sexual hospitality which Mackenzie Eskimo have told me was part of ordinary courtesy to a guest."

2: Stefansson--234 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
535, 345, 117

"May 15. Dancing. Dance house built today in our honor. The dance house has its floor on ice level, is about fifteen feet in diameter and eight feet high. It is full six feet in height a foot from the wall, i.e., the roof very flat. In building it, two temporary doors were used on opposite sides. As with all houses, the door faces south. The hallway is about half the usual length, about five feet. The door is a trifle higher than ordinary. There are no seats or benches along walls. People stand in complete circle, some boys in the front row, 'so they can see.' All the men and about half the women present. No special place for the women. A circle about five feet in diameter left for the dancer in center. There was no drum, but their bewailing its absence showed they ordinarily use it. They said: 'We almost never dance. We have no drums any more.' This would imply the dancing on decline. The dance now was entirely perhaps at Billy's instance."

2: Stefansson--234 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
164, 117

"Skin Diseases. Several persons have sores now, mostly on the hands, though some on eyebrows, forehead, and one in the scalp. He has hand sores too. Where this man's hand sores have healed there are little elevations, almost like warts and lighter color than rest of back of hand, about color of palm. The one now open is circular, like a conical pit, about one cm. wide and half a cm. deep. It is red, perhaps from plucking off scab, which seems a habit. It is not apparently a 'running' sore, nor yet is it dry, about as moist as our lips."

2: Stefansson--234 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
186, 117

"Opinions of other Groups. Contrary to all groups seen before, they speak favorably of all those people of whom they have any knowledge. They seem to have no knowledge of Avoak or Kittegaryuit. Of the Itkilliks they know, but they say 'We do not know what sort of people they are, for we have never seen them.' "

2: Stefansson--234-235 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
535, 117

"Most of the dancers assumed being very tired or overcome with languor from heat, they cast their eyes down and the hand dangled lifeless at the [235] wrist. They sang in general with the chorus, there were words to three-fourths of the song and in some cases the dancer used words while others accompanied him without words; in other cases he añaya'd while others used words; in still others he danced silently while others sang. In a half dozen cases the singer made a mistake, used words when he should not have joined the words of the chorus, etc. In each case he was 'jogged' by one or another, and one who failed to hear first correction was tapped on the shoulder to draw his attention. This was all done in a jocular way, each mistake causing laughter, corrections given and received about with same spirit as in a 'set' at a country dance.

One dancer Iglĭxsĭrk, danced about in Kittegaryuit 'doctor' style. His movements quick and often violent, his facial expressions at times diabolical, his shouts earsplitting and evidently intended to frighten. At intervals he would suddenly face some one and ask: 'Who am I?' This always of one of us visitors. 'Am I a good man?' etc. (11-yĕr-a-nait-tok). Occasionally, however, he dropped the dance manner and smiled as pleasantly as his Mephistophelian face allowed. At a set point in his song, everyone joined him in a half dozen movements bending at hips and knees. Both my own knowledge and Tan.'s verdict show this performance to be one not essentially different from the Mackenzie River type."

2: Stefansson--236 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
252, 117

"Cooking. There seems to be very little uncooked meat eaten. I have seen two cases among Staypleton people of a single man at end of a meal asking for a piece of frozen meat because he had not had enough cooked meat. Tan. has seen one meal where frozen meat formed 'a course.' Today our dogs were fed cooked meat, 'For,' they said, 'meat frozen hard is not good for a dog.'

May 17. Food. Had my first meal of frozen meat today, an emergency one when our guide came into a house. There must be a meal whenever one of us visitors goes into a house. Two men present refused to join, a thing I never saw with boiled seal. I liked it better than frozen deer. When a trifle high I prefer it raw to cooked."

2: Stefansson--236-237 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
291, 117

"Clothing. Clothing here same as at Staypleton. Mittens have hair in on palm and thumb. Long blouses of seal or deer slipped on when wind blows or build a snowhouse. Tails vary in length from middle thigh to middle calf, and in width from six to fourteen inches. Some meet body (waist) of coat at right angles, are of equal width all the way; some curved as much as to middle of each side of coat. Deer's ears form ventilating [237] holes to hood. There is a slit about half inch into tip of each ear, possibly ceremonial, on killing deer."

2: Stefansson--237 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
802, 117

"May 18. Counting. I have heard of Eskimo being unable to count beyond six, but this is my first meeting with that fact. There are seventeen people here and after careful conference they showed me on the fingers of three hands, do not use feet as Mackenzie do, there were fourteen. They had no name for this number and on being pressed, none could count beyond six. A-tau-hĭrk, ma´l-lrŏk, pīñ-a-hsut, hī-ta-mat, ta(d)l-lĭ-mat, arr-vĭn-ñran. A half hour of trying by Billy and me could not induce them to count at all, unless objects were in question, as our dogs, or theirs, the size of their families, etc. They would not count their fingers, deeming it useless, I suppose, their number is well known."

2: Stefansson--237 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
342, 117

"Hanirkarrmiut Houses. Skin roofs and snow walls are used in the spring by the Haneragmiut. Have been in use since they came ashore here some eight or ten days ago. There is a ridge pole some three feet shorter than the long diameter of a slightly oval house, supported on X sticks and lashed to them. These sticks incline a little, in pairs, toward the center of the house. The rest of the rafters, of which the ice pick is always one, are either from the wall to the ridge pole, or from wall to the X sticks, whose end sometimes, and sometimes not, sticks out of a hole in the roof. There are generally three rafters from wall to X sticks, the middle being to the crotch. The tents are preferably of deerskin but only one here is wholly of deer. One has a gable of aklak and another is mostly of sealskins, dried, laid shingle fashion. The hair is turned in. In summer they use tents similar to the house roofs now in use. One man here has not enough skins yet, and still uses a snow roof, which is poor now, as the weather is no longer cold."

.2: Stefansson--237 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
501, 117

"Kayaks and Umiaks. Kayaks and umiaks are not made now by either Haneragmiut or Akuliakattagmiut, though some have had kayaks in recent years who now have none."

2: Stefansson--237 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
576, 117

"Entering a house, everyone except members of the family utters a series of sharp exclamations from the time he stoops to enter the alleyway till his head is inside the door proper. The first to come to our house each morning always comes singing loudly; also, when no visitors known to be with us, while yet at a distance."

2: Stefansson--238 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
231, 117

"May 19. Dogs. Dogs are not numerous. Most people have two dogs and the largest number I know of is four. They are on an average about fifty pounds if in flesh but are rather thin now, though not skinny. They seem to get nothing but bones and blubber and not much of the latter, judging by how greedily they eat when fed, a dog soon is satiated with blubber. At Haneragmiut there were fourteen dogs to five families. Here I have not been able to count them. The color is generally black with light spots over eyes, a stripe on breast and belly and often white hairs in under side of tail, with white tips. But there are many other colors from roanish gray to black; would pass for mongrel farm dogs, any of them."

2: Stefansson--238 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
177, 117

"Misinformation concerning Knowledge of Ships. Billy misunderstood the other day that a woman who was telling about the two-masted umiak had been to one of the ships. On close inquiry we find neither she nor any other of them was, but they have all their information from the Kañhĭrryuarrmiut, some of whom were at the ship. It seems the Kañhĭrryuarrmiut seldom come down here, they probably made a trade expedition after meeting the ships, who, as is whaler habit, immediately glutted the natural market, expecting later, I suppose, to create an artificial one for tobacco, matches, firearms, flour, and perhaps whiskey.

Outside Influence on Eskimo. Outside influences seem to be as slight and indirect here, therefore, as one can find among the Eskimo or perhaps anywhere in the world. This would be a good place to stop therefore, and we might do so.

People to the East. The Pūĭplĭrmiut are said to be on the south shore of Victoria Island this side the Nagyuktogmiut, and both are said to be numerous. Then there are (account of Hanbury) the group from Bloody Fall to Krusenstern, the people (Hanbury) of Gray's Bay, and the ones seen by Lieut. Hansen at the southeast corner of Victoria Island, and probably Victoria Island people west of these on south coast and possibly some in the islands of Coronation Gulf besides those of whom we have heard. All of these are about equally untouched, and the Akuliakattagmiut are on our home road to be easily seen again."

2: Stefansson--239 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
125, 117

"Cephalic Measurements. Cephalic measurements taken of all women when they came for present of needles and most of the grown men. No boys came at my call for all the village, and I did not want to press it. They all seemed restless after novelty of first few measurements wore off, so I did not venture to try their patience on stature, etc. Photos of group worried them too, so took no individuals."

2: Stefansson--239-240 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
177, 117

"Contact with Explorers. What I know and what they know leads me to think as they think, that neither they nor their ancestors (akuliakattagmiut or Haneragmiut) have come in contact with any of the middle-century explorers. I think it worth while therefore to give more space than already given to a description of their manners, etc.

When I presented some needles to the women they all wanted to pay. This I declined on the ground our sled was too heavily loaded already (as it is); I told them that when we go home I should be glad of anything they give me. Pan. and Tan. had, however, received while B. and I were in Victoria Island several presents of sealskin, bootsoles, slippers, etc. Their interest in us continued to our leaving, though only the men (all I think) came to see us off, helped load the sled, etc. B. and T. had explained when people parted as good friends they always shook hands, so of course it was up to [240] me to shake hands too. I regret having been forced to plant here the seed of this to them thoroughly foreign custom."

2: Stefansson--240 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
123, 117

"Difficulty in obtaining Information. We had great trouble in getting any information out of them. They are far from garrulous. Our many inquiries as to where the Nagyuktogmiut are and how to be found, brought an invariable 'We do not know, we never were there.' It was an accident we found out that three of them did know the way by winter, straight down the middle of the strait. Either these had not been present when we inquired, or they had been silent when those who did not know spoke up, I think the latter is the fact. The others must have known too, by hearsay. [sic] but in every case, we got, 'We do not know' as an answer when they had not themselves actually seen the thing, except information as to their ancestors. This character I have often noted in Eskimo to the west, but never so marked as here. They will also agree with you in anything. After telling us in a body of three islands known as 'the hares' (ōkalliit) they at once agreed with Pan. who said they were only two in number as a woman had told her who had been there. This is a place where people habitually cross the strait, and no doubt many knew positively how many there are, but they immediately agreed with Pan. that there were only two. My chart shows three islands (Liston and Sutton) and I have no doubt there are three. Similarly, after telling B. that the Nagyuktogmiut consider the Itkillik bad people, they at once agreed with him when he said they were very good people. They had previously said to me 'We do not know what sort of people they are, for we do not know them.' "

2: Stefansson--240-241 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
181, 576, 609, 117

"General Characteristics. While they probably once had an organic connection with the people towards Cape Lyon (and one indeed has a mother from 'far west') their present movements seem to be restricted to less than fifty miles of coast and to the straif ice just north of them. Some spend an occasional summer in Victoria Island with the Haneragmiut or the Puiplirmiut farther east. This is a very confined sphere. Perhaps this has had a strong influence. At any rate, after allowing for their not well understanding our speech, I am inclined to consider them somewhat less intelligent in general than any I have before seen. Eskimo everywhere are little interested in the oustide world; these show practically none. But as their intelligence is less, so their general kindliness and good breeding is far beyond anything I have before seen. Of course, I have seen only 'civilized' and mostly christianized people heretofore.

Their generosity was always prominent, and the expression of it was monotonous. Perhaps because of difficulty of conversing and a distaste for remaining silent, considering it impolite they kept constantly repeating 'We hope you are having enough to eat.' 'We want you to be content [241] (not lonesome) while with us. We are therefore trying to feed you well, for a man with a full stomach is seldom discontented. He is well off who is well fed,' etc. These were endlessly repeated. I believe some of their phrases have a status similar to our proverbs, for their phraseology was almost never, if ever varied. Whenever one of these sentences was uttered, most or all present acclaimed

with 'i-yarr-lĭ,' which we do not understand exactly, but which clearly is akin to our 'amen,' 'so it is,' 'so be it.' When we left we took with us a number of small pieces of meat, presents, and their last words were inquiries if it was enough and urging us to speak up if we wanted more. It has been noted that they have little themselves, especially since they have neglected sealing largely since we first came. When we were not five miles off they were spread all over the ice, hunting in earnest for the first time since we came.

Modesty is not among their conspicuous virtues, however, for as often as they expressed friendliness (which was about every five minutes) they would say 'Ilyĭranaitturut' 'koyanaktūrut,' 'nagōyūrut tamapta' and when they spoke of other groups, 'They are excellent people, just as good people as we are.' They are as monotonous in this self-praise as in their good wishes to us, etc. It is to be noted, however, that the connotation of these phrases is not so much that they are an excellent, superior people, as that they are harmless, friendly, not to be distrusted. A phrase much used by the Hanerágmiut and occasionally by the Akuliakattagmiut is 'naunaittūrut' which literally, nĕllūnait turut, we are easily seen, easily discerned from afar, but which I suppose denotes 'easy to see through,' 'not given to underhand and secret practices,' 'not treacherous,' really as we appear.'"

2: Stefansson--241
231, 117

(1908-12) 1914

Copper Eskimo

"Treatment of Dogs. Their kindness to their dogs, a uniform trait I believe of all un-influenced Eskimo, is even greater than I have ever seen before. One of the dogs will every few minutes come and stand with his head in the doorway. He invariably gets a bone or piece of blubber. They can spare no meat now, but they do not clean-pick bones as western Eskimo do, and if someone tries to drive him off, another member of the family will protest 'You cannot expect a hungry dog not to beg for food,' 'Drive him away with a bone and not a stick,' etc. The dogs wear their harness all the time, and when they fight they are not beaten apart, as is the custom farther west, but pulled apart by the harness, which seems to be left on for this purpose. I saw one dog struck with a small stick, but he was an inveterate trouble breeder."

2: Stefansson--241-242 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
515, 117

"Habits of Cleanliness. Measuring their heads, I saw neither lice not [sic] nit, though this gave me a good chance to see any there were. I do not think them quite free, however, as I saw one or two women feeling for some such thing inside their coats. They were never successful in their search, [242] which bad luck seldom attends a similar quest in the Mackenzie. They probably never wash but I know from experience one gets no dirtier after the first few days."

2: Stefansson--242 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
356, 117

"Condition of the Houses. Their houses have no bad smell noticeable to me. They doubtless smell somewhat of seal oil, but so do our houses smell of the things we eat and use, and we don't consider them therefore vile. They are very careful that their lamps are trimmed and I have not yet seen a snow roof with traces of lampblack evident, and it would soon show on snow, ours was fairly black in a week, but then we don't understand lamps, except Tannaumirk."

2: Stefansson--242 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
224, 117

"Use of Bows. Wanting to see them shoot with bows, I thought it a happy introduction to the subject to show them how to shoot. I therefore set up a small stick at one hundred yards and fired at it. Two of the apparently prominent men went with me at my call for volunteers to see the effect of the shot. Unfortunately, I had missed and wanted to shoot again, but this they earnestly begged I should not do, saying they were unused to such things. I regretted my foolishness in starting this, but seeing it was started I thought it better to show we occasionally did hit, and B. and I each fired once, both hitting. The repetition seemed to rather reassure them. Two bows were then brought out at our request. The range seems to be about one hundred yards and at twenty-five yards they hit within a foot of the target 'bulls eye' about four out of five times. Doubtless these two were the best bow men. Evidently the bow is a more satisfactory weapon for deer than I had supposed, yet it surprised me that they should have given up the method of spearing, which has everywhere, so far as I know, been the mainstay of deer hunting."

2: Stefansson--242 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
117, 125

"Attitude toward being Measured and Photographed. They showed no fear of head measurements and of being photographed, at first. But B. officiously explained the photo process which seemed to make them uneasy and I dared not go beyond two group pictures, for we expect to have considerable to do with these people later. They made no inquiry as to the nature of my operations in photographing them, possibly not to show ignorance, or perhaps for some other reason. B.'s explanation was gratuitous."

2: Stefansson--242
291, 117

(1908-12) 1914

Copper Eskimo

"Clothing. Only a few of them have really good deerskin clothes and some help themselves out with seal and squirrel, seal long blouses and squirrel pants."

2: Stefansson--242-243 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
354, 117

"Use of Stone Lamps and Pots. The lamp and stone pot are a pretty satisfactory cooking apparatus. A lamp takes perhaps double the time of a 'primus' to boil water, but it can be left for hours unattended, and if one wished (but this they probably never do) one could leave a pot on going to sleep and find boiling water in the morning. It seemed to me those who [243] used stone pots took less time in cooking than those who had iron or tin ones (over half of them), but this is perhaps because the stone ones are long to fit the lamp flame, the iron ones are round and therefore with less heating surface."

2: Stefansson--243
117, 778, 788

(1908-12) 1914

Copper Eskimo

"Ceremonials or Charms. Of ceremonials I saw no trace, nor of charms, though they probably have both. Tan. took a leather thing worn over shoulder and under arm across the breast and back, to be a charm, but I think it was to carry the knife. It is worn between the two coats."

2: Stefansson--243 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
264, 117

"At meals the couple of the house and anyone else who cares to, usually an old or middle-aged man, sit on the edge of the bed platform with their feet hanging over; younger visitors stand, as do the children who typically come in from play to eat and dart out again when done. When the meat is considered cooked, the woman takes it out of the pot, using a handle-less musk-ox horn dipper in her right hand and the fingers of the left hand. The pieces are put on the sideboard in front of the lamp and left to cool. They are occasionally felt of, and when comfortably cool to the hand, the woman takes a piece, squeezes it between her two hands to squeeze out any water that might drop on the floor or one's clothes, rubs off the blood (seal blood coagulates in the water in grains and thickly covers each piece of meat as it is taken out). Then the woman hands out the pieces. In our case, who were guests of especial honor, the husband took the piece intended for us, usually felt of it and the other pieces to see if it was really the best, squeezed it again and rubbed it to make it drier, and then handed it to us, saying their meat was not much good, but this was about the best piece. In all cases blubber was carefully trimmed off, until they found that I liked to have some left on mine.

Most of the people hold the meat in both hands and do not use a knife; some use an ulu, eating in the ordinary Eskimo fashion, biting into the meat and then cutting just in front of the teeth. After eating the hands are wiped on a birdskin. I have seen

ptarmigan, gull, and swan used. Then any fragments that have dropped on the floor are scraped under the table with an ulu."

2: Stefansson--243 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
252, 117

"Cooking. I have heard of Eskimo merely warming meat to eat it. These always comment unfavorably on a piece that is a trifle rare and I have not seen one eaten that would not be considered 'medium' or 'well done' if a beefsteak in a grillroom. In fact I have never seen Eskimo eat partly cooked meat, they usually cook well. Besides, I have tried boiling seal more than the Eskimo do and found it toughened the meat, unless you boil it an hour or so, when it softens again but has lost its best flavor. I prefer meat put unfrozen in cold water and taken out about five minutes after the water boils. At this season of the year I much prefer seal to deer meat, if fresh."

2: Stefansson--244 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
411, 117

"Bows. One bow measured was four feet one inch from tip to tip, straight. They are not unstrung in winter. They are of three pieces, of drift spruce, backed with deer leg sinew. Bow about two inches wide and one-half to three-quarters of an inch thick. String of leg sinew, is one-eighth inch in diameter.

Seal Spears. One seal spear is four feet eleven inches over all, the loose piece fifteen inches. Spear had iron point, called (with bone it is set in) naúlak; the bone into which loose piece fits (on handle), katka, kĕyukta; the wooden feeler put in seal hole to show seal's approach, kaup´kōta; bone cross piece at end of string attached, ĭĭlark. The whole seal spear, natjirksĭŭn, the ordinary name for seal is ōxōvik. Tûrarxĭok is the ugrug line attached to the spear to hold seal."

2: Stefansson--244
524, 117

(1908-12) 1914

Copper Eskimo

"Stories and Cat's Cradles. They told Tan. they told stories and did cat's cradles only during the dark days. This T. says is as formerly it was at Kittegaryuit."

2: Stefansson--244 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
226, 117

"Fishing. They use ice picks for fishing when first they move inland. The fishing is chiefly by spear, a polar bear tooth is 'jigged' on a string and the fish speared when they approach."

2: Stefansson--244 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
281, 117

"Skin Dressing. Sealskin is dressed in the ordinary Eskimo style: black for water boots and white (nelluàk) for soles and ornamental work. The skins are dried on snow walls, perpendicular and facing south, being pegged on with small pegs. At Hanerag-miut I saw skins being dried on the north side of these walls, not for want of room on the south side, for the wall that had skins on its north side had none on its south side. What the difference of result is I do not know. Their ugrug lines were cut about one-third of an inch wide which is the ordinary Eskimo width. All of us see them here for the first time white. They have been sun-dried and then most of the hair scraped off with a knife. The style west is to rot off the hair making the skin yellow."

2: Stefansson--245 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
493, 117

"Sleds. The sleds are not of the short Mackenzie and Baillie type though Prince Albert sleds said by Mogg to be short as early Mackenzie. All the old sled pieces we found on Parry and one or two found east of Lyon were the short type. One measured, an average one, was ten feet one inch long, nineteen inches wide, inside measure, about ten inches high, with eight cross-pieces lashed on. They are rudely made of driftwood, and as many were new, I conclude they are frequently discarded and new ones made. Shoeing of moss and ice. I did not want to ask to see it, as all sleds carefully buried to within about two inches of top, to protect ice runners from chance thaw. Their trails leading on rough and glare ice often show the shoeing substantial, no pains taken to avoid glare spots, apparently." (8)

"8. [Stefansson's comment, p. 453] The statement quoted from Captain Mogg that the Victoria Island people have sleds of the short Mackenzie type--about four feet long--is contrary to our observation since. We have seen no sled under eight feet, unless it be sleds made of musk-ox hide. I think the Coronation Gulf sleds average longer than Victoria Island. It is probable that in general the sleds get longer as one goes east from Bexley all the way to King William Island and Chesterfield Inlet."

2: Stefansson--245 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
354, 117

"Houses. The lamp platform in most houses is a piece of wood split from the root of a large drift log. This splitting is done with numerous small wooden wedges. The platform resting on a cake of snow, [redacted] described some days ago, is after all, on visiting more houses, found to be ve[redacted]rare."

2: Stefansson--245 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
342, 117

"The houses are all high enough to stand upright in. The door faces the south. The woman sits on the edge of bed at side board, over edge of which is the lamp. To her right is the man's seat and to her right the guest or older visitors. Younger visitors stand. In one case two houses had a third, without door to the outside, between them. I was never invited into one of these houses, and none of us ever entered houses uninvited."

2: Stefansson--245 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
262, 117

"Food. Seal heads are cooked and the meat eaten, but the bones only slightly broken to take out brain. Heads protected from dogs. At a deserted village I found a pile of some thirty heads that showed no dog gnawing though some meat on all, not clean picked, as bones seldom are here."

2: Stefansson--245-246 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
291, 117

"Clothing. A cap of fawnskin with ear flaps and band under chin is used in summer against mosquitoes. The coat is typically swallow-tail, length varying from middle thigh to middle calf, and width from six to fifteen inches. All borders, seams, edges, are reinforced with a strip one-eighth to one-quarter inch of hairless skin inside and about one-quarter inch in from edge. Some coats are one color, some have much fancy work in black and white (all deerskin), mostly lines and rectangles. No fancy work on inner coats. Some outer coats have things hanging here and there usually in pairs. Most have a bone button (from twnety-five to fifty cent piece size) on small of back of coat. Some buttons oval or lozenge-shaped. Some coats not swallow-tailed; some of deer, but most of seal (no swallow-tails of seal) and come to about the knee. They are put on for snowhouse-making and in blizzard. The lower edge suggests that the skin was not trimmed at all below, the coat being as long as the skin allowed, and showing all the flaps and irregularities. The shoulders of these coats about fit the man, but the [246] swallow-tails, especially the outer, have exaggerated military shoulders, some being fully six inches too wide at shoulders, shoulders of coat sticking three or four inches beyond shoulders of wearer, and often therefore sagging down. The exaggerated shoulders and the swallow-tail give the men a triangular back figure.

Ears seem never cut off skins. I have seen them on women's boots, men's pants in front about each side the navel, and on the shoulders of a man's inner coat, the ear

sticking inwards. Each ear forms a hole in the garment, at least in the hoods. The ears of the hood sticking out give at a distance an appearance not unlike the mortar boards of academic institutions.

Inner coat has hair in; outer, hair out. Outer coat usually, but not always, thicker than inner. Tails of both outer and inner coat seldom of quite the same cut. Women's coats in general similar to men's, except that ears are not prominent on hood, but hood large and pear-shaped, hanging back on shoulder. Children are not carried in hood, but inside coats on back, as Mackenzie River. Trousers are plain or ornamented with white skin and pendant strings. They come well above navel, much higher than farther west, and reach three inches below knee. They are loose at knee, not tied. The women's trousers are ornamented from the middle of side to middle of back of each thigh with vertical strips of dark and white deerskin. Each strip is wide at top and tapers down, or widest, perhaps about ten inches from top.

Boots. I had no chance to examine complete footgear. They wear two or more pairs of socks coming to knee inside pants, and over these a slipper of nelluak (white) sealskin drawn tight just below the ankle. Women's slippers similar, but leggings come to hips, about as our own water boots do, and fit very loosely. They are suspended from a belt."

2: Stefansson--246 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
352, 117

"Sleeping Bags. Saw no sleeping bags nor sewn-up deerskin blankets, but they may have either or both." (9)

"9. [Stefansson's comment, p. 453] We never saw any proper sleeping bags, but we later often saw robes of such a shape as would be given were a bag first made and then slit from a point twelve or eighteen inches from the foot all the way to the mouth."

∂: Stefansson--246-247 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
524, 117

"Cat's Cradles. I had Tan. make all the cat's cradles he knew, three, to see if they knew their names. They recognized them as (1) Tĕrrĕrántak, (2) axrar'ĭuk, (3) marhĭktō'ryuk, which T. says was as they are named at Kittegaryuit. The Akuliakattagmiut then made for us these same three, and also (4) ĭmĭrtaktar'ryuk, (5) tūktō'ryūk (Kittegaryuit, tūk-tū), (6) pĭhyūgyuk (Kittegaryuit, pitjūgátjiak), (7) kannahĕryuk (not recognized by Tan. till named and then as kānnayōk), (8) ūkpĭk (not recognized till named, then as ūkpĭk), (9) ūlūurūlĭk (Kittegaryuit, aiyarak). All agreed this was all any of them knew. Many did not know how to make all, but all apparently knew some. The string passed from a young to an older man and then to a middle-aged man before list was complete. T. said he did not recognize some because he does not happen to know how to make them, but insists all are 'just the same' as at Kittegaryuit."

2: Stefansson--247 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
551, 117

"May 22. Point Cockburn. Introductions. Each man of Akuliakattagmiut or Haneragmiut usually explained the meaning of his name or made some pun on it at time of introduction. This I took to be to help us remember the name. Each seemed to have a stock phrase, for some must have had a dozen occasions to repeat their names and always used some set accompaniment. Some made no comments on their names after first introduction, and a few not even then, simply repeating the name two or three times."

2: Stefansson--248 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
281, 117

"May 25. Skin scrapers. They say they never had skin scrapers of copper or iron, but only horn and white and brown bear bones. We saw metal scrapers among the Akuliakattagmiut, but they may have learned the making of them indirectly from the Klinkenberg or Mogg ships' natives."

2: Stefansson--248 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
846, 117

"A young woman whose child died soon after birth a few days ago has a tiny tent to herself."

2: Stefansson--248 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
302, 117

"Method of wearing the Hair. Brown hairs in eyebrows and moustache (no beard) of both men. Hair cut of men Akuliakattagmiut. Two men and one boy have front hair braided, two small braids, apparently to keep it out of eyes. One woman and ten year old boy have back hair wound in two bundles with hairless thong."

2: Stefansson--249 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
164, 117

"Skin Diseases. Amirailak has some sores on one leg (did not see them) and he showed me scars of sores from sole to knee open last winter. Size ten cents to dollar and leg as a whole swollen, slightly swollen now. Sores chiefly or only on feet. He is the father of the baby died at birth a few days ago." (10)

"10. [Stefansson's comment, p. 453] I have learned from Natkusiaq who went for us in 1915 to get the North Star from Anderson in Dolphin and Union Straits, that the Amigailaq mentioned here is now a house-confined cripple as a result of his leg sores."

2: Stefansson--251 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
325, 177, 117

"Use of Copper. Copper is said to abound near Dismal Lake. I bought a copper snow knife this morning and saw a piece of copper, both said to have been brought from there, the piece by Iglíx'irk, whom Hanbury saw. The copper piece was rudely triangular about five by seven by nine inches and about half an inch thick. It had been partly melted either to break it from its native bed or to break it from a larger piece."

2: Stefansson--251 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
262, 177, 117

"Food. People here asked to taste the salt we put in soup, and after that firmly refused to taste any of our food, at previous places all have tasted the different sorts we have, pemmican, milk, and triscuit. Brought us seal meat after seeing us eat, evidently thinking we must be hard-pressed for food to eat such stuff. Say no deer around here usually. Have seal for food and fish from the lake inland."

2: Stefansson--252 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
493, 117

"Sleds. Apattok's sled the other day had runners varying about 15° from vertical, like 'cutters' of 'civilized.' Curtains of skin hang on sides when traveling to keep sun off runners. Vertical section of runners: wood about 2 by 12 inches, sod about inch thick, shell of ice 1/4 inch thich [sic]. Dogs hitched eastern style with middle trace of three dogs two feet longer and others even, traces ten or twelve feet. Woman pulled ahead of team and men on both sides. Careful to keep sled in tracks of former sled, which Eskimo west never do. All sleds even guage, as I have seen over ten sleds make tracks like a single sled. Haul big loads six to eight hundred pounds."

2: Stefansson--252 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
576, 117

"Ceremonies of Meeting. Noted, but did not understand that Iglix̆irk, the man we first met stroked Tan.'s clothes over with downward motion. Hala did the same the other night and we now understand this is connected with turnrak belief, to remove evil influences. Apattok fed us each with a piece of raw blubber which he would not let us touch but himself placed in our mouths. Possibly simply hospitality, more likely to ward off evil influences, or to see if we were human and not spirits. (Some of my folklore tales from the west imply blubber fatal to spirits, kills them.) Fear of our guns not shown since by Akuliakattagmiut, probably through Hanbury's Igliki telling of them."

2: Stefansson--254
844, 846, 117

(1908-12) 1914

Copper Eskimo

June 19. Belief. Pan. says Kuwûk people hang afterbirth in a high tree. Among her own people a woman with a child on her back (i.e. less than about five years) must not eat kaksrauk (black-throated and red-throated loon); if she does her child will be unable to walk or be at least a poor walker."

2: Stefansson--255 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
857, 117

"Tannaumiq knows the names of about a third of the flowers we have seen here this summer. A purple flower is called itqiloyaq (means literally: image, picture, effigy, representation on a reduced scale, of an Indian).... and it was former practice at Kittegaryuit for small boys to chase around all day with bow shouting 'itkillirk ūvva!' when one was found, and competing to see who could shoot it down first with arrow, encouraged in this by elders as 'long ago we used to fight the Itkilliks.'"

2: Stefansson--255 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
825, 811, 117

"July 8. Eskimo Habits of Mind. When we first saw robin redbreasts the other day all three agreed they were klyirk (the name for blue-jay) and fond of meat. When T. and I found first nest he said he now saw they were not klyirk, as the eggs were different, but he is now evidently back to his former view, for he agrees that he and B. yesterday had found a klyirk nest with three eggs. On reasoning the matter over P. concluded they might be kayōtak, e.g. they were not klyirk. From this B. violently dissented, saying kayōtak is not found here. The mental trait illustrated is the same with both, however. Each identifies the bird positively with a bird they knew before, though (I do not know kayōtak) the difference between robins and jays is great. This trait was noted in reference to snow geese, sulupaurak (arctic trout?) and aklaks (land bears). One must bear this trait in mind in reasoning about Eskimo prehistoric migrations on the basis of animal names, a source from which I now expect less light than I did before I understood their laxness in differentiations. (Cf. also the Noatak-Killirk, et. al, belief, that doe never fawn two years in succession). Last winter we repeatedly killed a solitary doe and fawn, when the doe carried an embryo, also often a fawn broke from a band and returned to look for its dead mother who had embryo. This last fact Kunaluk admitted was very strange in view of the known fact that if a doe had embryo that proved she had not fawned the past year, therefore fawn's return probably accidental. When single doe and fawn together, he called that accident, too, as any two deer might be found together, that the doe had milk in her udder did not

seem strange to him, perhaps because Eskimo women give milk five to seven years after bearing a child."

2: Stefansson--255-256 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
262, 811, 117

"Typically an Eskimo is very diffident in advancing an opinion based on his own observation, but rock-firm in adherence [256] to views he gets from others 'for people would not keep saying it if it were not so.' The fact that many Eskimo here have names of white men (Nĕrk, several), etc., B. and T. refuse to regard as strange, as 'The people here, as we used to, no doubt have white men for turnnrat (familiar spirits) and name their children from them, as we used to.' When I pointed out that the name 'Nĕrk' is characteristically non-Eskimo, they said that was natural, as turnnrat who were white men naturally spoke like white men and had white men's names. I pointed out that Arrnatok had told us the Kablunak 'Nĕrk" had been averse to eating seal-oil; that too B. and T. said was natural, as many turnnrat have strong food-prejudices and B. personally knew of several turnnrat that would not eat seal oil; T. contributed that Alualuk's turnnrat would not eat seal-oil. B. added that being a white turnnrak, it would be especially natural he would not eat oil. The only thing that seems to them strange is the fact the 'Nĕrk' is said to have died. They do not know of turnnrat dying, but say that, come to think of it, it would be but natural they should die, though people naturally are not likely to become aware of this circumstance." (12)

"12. [Stefansson's comment, p. 453] The 'Nĕrk' or 'Neq' discussed here was afterwards clearly identified with Dr. Rae."

2: Stefansson--256
825, 117

(1908-12) 1914

Copper Eskimo

"July 24. Near Dismal Lake. Lice. Pan. says 'annĭrut' come out, as child at birth, from a man's body in at least three places she knows of, at the nipple, under the arm, and near the upper inner part of the shoulder blade."

2: Stefansson--257 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
482, 117

"July 28. Packing all wear head straps. One man carries kayak scuttle up, other scuttle to his back. Scuttle-up is on top a pack, other man carries no pack but the bow and quiver, which in both cases are on top the kayak."

2: Stefansson--257
492, 117

(1908-12) 1914

Copper Eskimo

"The dogs have pack of a single seal pōk split down one entire side and laced, apparently to suit contents, the lacing being tightened if load grows smaller."

2: Stefansson--258 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
293, 117

"Caps for mosquitoes are worn by most, though Alyirk had an addition to his hood that extends it well forward. Caps are usually squirrel and are tied, bonnet fashion under the chin."

Z: Stefansson--260 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
262, 117

"Have been trying to teach people to eat akpek. Most or all the men and children have tried and some like them. Most of the women refuse to taste them even, and those who taste do not like them. About the only berry they seem to eat is a small black one growing on a low shrub that resembles an evergreen, these berries none of us like, though I eat them when brought me as presents by the children. The name 'akpek' seems known to all and some, but not all know an 'akpek' by sight. The Akuliakattagmiut couple say they never saw an akpek before, but I think that is merely because they do not pay attention as the Akuliakattagmiut hunt close up to Tahierpik and the woods occasionally."

2: Stefansson--260 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
252, 117

"August 19. Conservatism. Most Eskimo I have seen habitually (if they want meat to boil quickly) turn pieces over even when water covers every piece in the pot. This practice no doubt dates from time of shallow stone pots when every piece had its upper side out of water. B. never probably saw meat cooked in a stone pot till here."

2: Stefansson--267 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
231, 117

"Dog Language. Dogs are never addressed imperatively in first person, always in third. Lie down, akūvilli (let him lie down), not akūvittin (you lie down). A dog is forbidden to do a thing by words which, if literally translated, or if applied to a man tell him to do it. ūyŏriūñ, don't fight with him (literally 'fight him'); nĕrkĭksran parkittūtin--you have found something you must not eat (lit. 'you have found something meant for you to eat'). Kĭ, kĭ, kīlamĭk (literally, come, hurry up!) is often used by my Eskimo to dogs who will not stand still when their pack is being fixed. It really equals our 'be quiet.' "

2: Stefansson--267-268 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
117, 412

"The Copper Eskimo have repeatedly told me the cheap butcher knives I brought for trade are fine knives because they bend easily. My own knife [268] none of them care for because it will not bend. Hodgson says the Porcupine and Yukon Indians had exactly the same test for the goodness of a knife. At Barrow and Mackenzie, now at least, they will not have a knife if it bends. They don't like anything lighter than a Wilson nine-inch blade (at Barrow at least), which they cut down with a file to seven inch to give it point."

2: Stefansson-- 278-281 (1908-12) 1914 N58 Copper Eskimo
117, 181

"Comparison of Eskimo and Indian Customs, Character, etc. It may be that I am scarcely fitted by experience for a just comparison of the two people, but then a comparison may never have been attempted by anyone better fit. Anyway, the following is set down, with some diffidence far as Indian character goes; as to hunting methods, camps, etc., here there is little chance of my going far wrong, as I have discussed what I have seen with the Hodgson's, Melvill, Hornby, and the Indians themselves. Johnny Sanderson, while quarter or half white is an Indian in bringing up and in his ideas.

The Two Peoples as Travelers. The Indians carry less impedimenta in winter and in that matter have the advantage. The Coppermine Eskimo, who carry less than any other Eskimo I know, always carry the table and other wooden furniture that goes with the lamp, besides the lamp itself and the cooking pot. They carry no tent in winter, but the Indians frequently also travel without the lodge, making 'open camps' in the wood. When tents are carried, the advantage in weight is with the Indians, for the lodge weighs no more than the modern tents of the Western Eskimo and the Eskimo carry the willow framework in addition, bulky and a little heavy. Pitching camp seems to take about the same time with the lodge and the beehive tent. But when the tent is once pitched there is no comparison in comfort. In fact, the word 'comfort' is out of place in describing a lodge camp, at least in cold weather. But thrust a foot clad in a

woolen stocking (skin would burn) as near the fire as you can bear it, and hoar frost will form on the back of your toes. It is almost impossible to dry anything, as steam rises in clouds from the snow-covered ground from the cooking and from anything in fact that gets warm. Frequently, I was unable to see Anderson's face, though he was my next neighbor, for the steam from the [279] ground. This steam condenses on the away-from-the-fire-side of any garment hung up, and alternately condenses and melts on the fire-ward side, as the fire varies in heat. If one attempts to bank the tent, it smokes, and if one camps in a low place (valley) it usually smokes anyway. This is hard on the eyes besides the moment's discomfort. Anderson was nearly blind some days and suffered considerable pain.

A lodge cannot be tolerably pitched unless at least a half-dozen poles be found of a length three or four feet greater than the height of the lodge or poles thirteen or fourteen feet long, and to be well pitched the smallest lodge should have twelve poles, while I have seen eighteen used, and seen old lodge frames of over twenty. Then from a quarter to a third of a cord of good dry wood is needed for the night (say three hours) and for breakfast (say two hours) and if one remains in camp all day a cord will be used up in cold weather. A beehive Eskimo tent can be pitched anywhere on ice or land, it furnishes some comfort though no wood be found, and a stove and two or three armfuls of wood, such as a farm boy carries to the kitchen stove, will cook two meals and dry one's clothes, keeping the tent so comfortable that one can sit in shirtsleeves

or stripped, Eskimo fashion.

Two points of advantage the lodge has over a tent. It dries deer meat or fish faster than any other ordinary way, and keeps off bluebottles and gives an agreeable smoke flavor. Back meat or sinew meat cut thin is thoroughly dry in two days. This sort of meat has the place most nearly over the fire; it is intended for making 'pounded meat' and pemmican. The boneless ribs are half-dry in the same time, though hung farther from the fire. Ribs the Indians never thoroughly dry, as they are intended for boiling.

In the matter of which are better long distance runners I have no opinion of one's superiority over the other. There are many white men who state positively the Indians are much better, but these are, so far as I know, men who know only the Indians. It is true that the Indians travel faster and stop more seldom in traveling short distances; but the apparent reason, nowadays at least, is that they are so poorly dressed they have to keep moving to keep warm, while an Eskimo is usually, if not always, comfortably warm on the body and can therefore take his ease anywhere by turning his face away from the wind.

As hunters of caribou it seems to me clear the Eskimo are better men. The Indians have about the same methods of driving deer as the Eskimo and if they differed materially I would not be competent to contrast them as to efficiency. They snare more deer than the Eskimo trap or snare but that is through the advantage of better local

conditions. But in 'straight hunting' the Indian has but one way if trees are absent for cover. He walks [280] or runs straight at the caribou, shoots poorly at long range, and depends on the caribou's curiosity and frequent stops to get in range at all. This method is equally used by the western Eskimo (the Coppermine people do not seem to use it), but only in one of two cases; when the weather is calm and the snow crusty, too stealthy approach is impossible through the deer's acute hearing; or when the deer have accidentally seen or heard the hunter and further concealment is to no purpose. Otherwise, the Eskimo have the habit of careful approach, and can often get within one hundred yards of a band of deer on even level ground, while if there are several Eskimo their approach to deer is often worthy of the term Hanbury applies when he calls it 'a carefully planned campaign.' From some point of vantage the ground is studied out (nowadays usually with the use of glasses) with reference to the wind, the direction the deer are moving, etc. It often takes an Eskimo all day to approach a band that an Indian would be shooting at fifteen minutes after he saw them; but then an Eskimo is about five times as likely to get his deer, and does not scare the animals off the hunting ground to such an extent as the Indians do. The method used by the Bear Lake Indians is well enough where caribou, when they come, come in thousands and can be butchered off hand; but in a country such as Horton River, where one needs to kill a large portion of the deer seen in order to live, they would starve, as indeed the Good Hope Indians have been completely starved out of Horton River, their

ancestral hunting grounds. On Horton River we can live well by attending to the hunt at proper seasons.

As companions when traveling my experience confirms that of Hanbury (who could contrast Eskimo and Indians from personal knowledge), Pike, Russell, etc. They are always whining when something goes wrong, are always ready to break a bargain, always haggling for more pay, always homesick and worrying about not being able to see their little grandnephews, or other distant relatives. They are afraid to go out of the territory of their own tribe, except along the Mackenzie highways of travel. None of these faults the Eskimo have in general, or at least none of them are so universally evident. Our man Ilavinirk is always worrying about starvation in a strange country, but he has some cause. He has starved, and his health is poor, he has frequently in the past been unable to hunt or travel for weeks at a time. B. and P. have none of the above faults, and T. only some of them slightly developed--is homesick, a little lazy, a good deal thoughtless and very lacking in initiative. The Indians are very much on their dignity, I have never seen an Eskimo who was. Johnnie, for instance, felt very grieved at having to do women's work, cut up meat to dry, find spruce boughs for flooring the lodge, etc. There are lazy Eskimo, but I have never known one of them to refuse doing a thing be it sewing, tending the baby, [281] cutting up meat, or what not on the ground that he was too important a person to

do these things. Few Eskimo will stand being harshly spoken to. They will leave an individual employer or a ship at no matter what loss of pay, etc., promptly if harshly spoken to by the man in highest authority be the reproof deserved or not. Indians, it seems from Johnnie's case and what I have heard will not only stand sharp words, but will be more attentive and better servants if occasionally dressed down a bit.

Honesty, at least 'business honesty' is on a higher level among the Eskimo. The Akuliakattagmiut would not accept the smallest thing without paying for it; the Western Eskimo through long training, have become beggars to a degree, but not as the Indians. But if the Western Eskimo promise pay they will deprive themselves of 'necessities' and luxuries to meet their bills. An example were the people to whom Cadzow gave credit at Rampart House the winter of 1906-7. He gave them no more than he was accustomed to give Indians as gratuities, but some of them made a three hundred mile trip from the coast (Alēkak, Tūllūrak) to pay bills of three or five fox skins, and carried fox skins for the settlements of debts of others. They were so far from Cadzow that they needed have no fear of his attempting collecting or even seeing him. It might be that Alekak and Tullurak paid their debts to get more credit; this can't be though of those who sent their furs with these two to pay debts. Most of these, or all, were without a remote notion of ever again seeing Cadzow. As a contrast, an Indian at Norman will run up as big a bill as he can with one trader, and then, before that trader's

face, take his furs to a rival trader to avoid paying his debts, and then change his trading post for another when he can get no more credit at Norman. Even now Eskimo take no 'debt' from the traders at Peel River, though some are often urged to do so, for the traders know that if they can sell to a man more than he can pay for, that man will bring the furs next year to them, whereas they might otherwise go to a whaler. And having brought furs to pay his bill, he will probably bring also the rest, for he won't have the time to go both to the 'Fort' and Herschel Island (to the ships) without forfeiting his chances of the summer white whale hunt and the fishing.

I have, however, known cases of misrepresentation, cheating and real 'confidence games' among the Mackenzie Eskimo. There are also thieves, but they are few, everybody knows them for thieves, and they are looked down on, a few years ago they would have been killed."

2: Stefansson--286-287 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
551, 117

"Names. At Cape Smythe at one time there were four men who bore the name Appaiyauk. One of these was called Appaiyaugnak, that may have been his name from the first, or it may have been given him later in life to distinguish him from the others. The most prominent of the four was always called Appaiyauk. The remaining two Appaiyauks were given the distinguishing suffixes, -hlux, and -tjiak. Appaiyaxhluk is now dead but Appaiyauxtjiak is the one still living and at present one of most important men at Cape Smythe. When the prominent Appaiyauk died (but Appaiyauxhluk, brother of Tagluksrak's wife still lived) the -tjiak was removed from the present umialik's name. He has since been plain Appaiyauk.

At Herschel Island, etc. and at Cape Bexley and east I have heard of no such

distinguishing suffixes being applied to men of the same name. (19)

March 14. Names. A child is named Kēyūk from one of several Kēyūks. The one from whom the child is named is 'ōmātk˝a' (that [287] one's name), the others are not the child's 'name', though they bear the same name."

"19. [Stefansson's comment, p. 455] The custom of adding distinguishing suffixes to proper names to distinguish individuals of the same name, was formerly probably not used in the Mackenzie. Most men had several names, and if there was ambiguity a second name was added to the one commonly used. In recent years, however, the custom has been adopted from western Eskimo and I have known Mamayauqpa.luk (Big Mamayauq) a woman, Navalukpa.luk (Big Navaluk) a woman, Angusinnasuqpa'luk (Big Angusinnauq), Qommaqpa.luk (Big Qommanna) a man. The westerners among themselves used many distinguishing suffixes meaning such things as 'small', 'puny', 'wretched', 'toy', 'big', 'old', 'imitation', etc. The only one so far adopted by the Mackenzie people themselves is the one meaning 'big'. though one of three Angusinnaauq's (now dead) was sometimes referred to by westerners resident in the Mackenzie as 'Little Angusinnaauq'."

2: Stefansson--287-289 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
177, 117

April 10. The Future. For over a century since Hearne first saw an encampment of them at Bloody Fall the Coronation Gulf Eskimo have made little 'progress towards civilization.' It was probably after Hearne's time that they first saw an article of European manufacture; later they got a few scraps of iron, etc., by plundering the abandoned boats and gear of the Franklin expedition; Richardson traded the Rae River group a few knives, files, and needles, and so did Rae a little later; Collinson's ships traded with widely separated parties at Cambridge Bay and on Prince of Wales Strait and threw heaps of empty tin cans and other waste gear ashore; M'Clure's abandoned ship on the north coast of Banks Island may have become Eskimo spoil, though he never saw Eskimo on Banks Island, as well as some wreckage from Franklin's ill-fated ships on the east coast of Victoria Island. Of recent years articles of iron have begun to come in more freely by overland native trade from Hudson Bay. Firearms and the fur trade are known by hearsay, though they have not as yet penetrated into Coronation Gulf proper.

From the present year, however, change will be rapid. Our unwilling ministrations this summer broke down the walls of fear and hatred that ignorance of each other has till now maintained and that since effectively kept apart the Coppermine Eskimo and the Bear Lake Slavey. The fur-trading post on Bear Lake River (Fort Norman) is the natural market for Coronation Gulf. The white men there are eager for the Eskimo's furs; the missionaries there are no less eager to extend their activities. Both will go

to the sea if necessary to attain their ends. The Eskimo, after familiarity with our outfit for a summer, are set on getting guns, fish nets and tools, now that they know the Indians are really a harmless lot and [288] friendly. In a year or two the Eskimo would go to the traders if the traders did not come to the Eskimo. And if neither Eskimo nor trader had the enterprise to seek the other, the Indians are eager to act as middlemen between. Commerce in goods may, therefore, be said to have begun; commerce of ideas cannot help following close behind. From the point of view of the ethnologist and sociologist the result of these new forces is clear, the rapid change of ideas, institutions and material surroundings.

Up to the present, three-quarters of the food of the people has been the seal and three-quarters of the year have been spent in its pursuit. The sea has therefore, been their home, the snow hut their dwelling. But the coming of the trader and the acquisition of guns will give the land a lure it formerly did not have and increasingly the people will become land-dwellers seeking furs with which to buy articles to supply their newly discovered wants. At first making a living on land will be easy, for caribou are still numerous. The result will be that the people will live on caribou meat for twelve months a year (some of them, at least) instead of three or four; when they had one dog to hunt seal-holes for them in winter they will now have teams of four or six with which to make long winter journeys (or so it has been in the west of the Baillie Islands) and these dogs

also will feed on caribou meat. At present the caribou has in winter a wide zone of safety between the Indians who dare not face the barren ground and the Eskimo who prefer the sea coast. But the Eskimo fear the woodless barrens about as much as a fish fears water, and when the fur trade draws them inland the doom of the last musk-ox will be not a decade away nor that of the last carbou many decades. This will have its effect on those northern tribes of Indians who are still to an extent caribou-eaters, while the disappearance of the caribou will drive the Eskimo back again to the sea coast. They will then have to get all their living from the water instead of three-fourths of it as at present and will have to dress in sealskins where they now use caribou. By then they will have learned tea drinking, tobacco using, etc., and will have lost their economic independence as completely as have all Eskimo west of the Baillie Islands. They will then be less well fed than at present, less well clothed, richer only in ideas without which they now live content and in wants which their poverty will never completely satisfy. The coronation Gulf people look to the immediate future with eager anticipation; so do also the fur-traders at Fort Norman. As a spectator with no material interests at stake the writer feels that the trader is to be congratulated, but not the Eskimo. In closing a chapter on the Eskimo of King William Land Captain Amundsen says: 'My best wish for my friends of the Netchillik Eskimos is that civilization may never reach them.' It had reached them even when that line was written, or its wants and its vices had, and that is [289] all of civilization that is readily absorbable. It is

now about to obliterate the last oasis of economic independence on our continent, the populous district surrounding Victoria Island. I would wish these people the same wish that Amundsen did their neighbors to the east, but I should have to put it in a past tense and should have to add a regret that I had a part in bringing the change about.

April 10. Range of Ideas. The people east and north of Cape Bexley were probably even in the earliest days among the most isolated groups of Eskimo anywhere. A comparison of them a hundred years ago with the then equally uncivilized Mackenzie Eskimo would probably have, even then, shown in intellectual things a heavy balance in favor of the westerners. However that may have been, the difference in range of ideas today is marked. Unfortunately, the sixteen years of Herschel Island whaling that preceded the writer's first visit to the Mackenzie Delta had made it difficult to determine for that locality what ideas were local there or of ancient introduction, what ones were borrowed recently from the Alaskan Eskimo, whom the whalers brought with them, and what had been absorbed from the white men directly. Nevertheless a comparison will be attempted on the basis of what seems to be local and primitive in the Mackenzie district."

2: Stefansson--289-290 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
802, 117

"Inability to count in the Coronation Gulf district has a wide direct influence; it is besides an index to their general mental status. At the Baillie Islands and west any grown person can count up to four hundred (twenty twenties); at Cape Bexley, in Victoria Island, and east at least as far as the Kent Peninsula no one can count above five. Even this seems to be a numerical vocabulary beyond their wants. In summer nothing is of so much interest or importance to them as the caribou, yet of all the people we have lived with and hunted with, no one (unless cross-questioned by us) ever used a numeral larger than 'two' to designate the number of caribou seen or killed. If there were more than two but less than six they knew how many they were but never told. The expression for more than two was invariably 'many' (ămĭhŭăr´yŭĭt). When we pressed them for more exact details they could tell us 'three, four, or five,' but with impatience as if ours was unreasonable or childish curiosity. If there were over five the answer would be; 'I don't know how many, very many.' Of certain things, such as the population of a small village, they have approximately correct ideas of number to and even above fifteen and will indicate this by holding up their ten fingers and getting some bystander to hold up as many more as are needed to complete the total, prompting him by 'one more finger' till he holds up the required number. Of such a performance the main performer seems very proud and the assembled crowd finds it highly amusing. It is probable that it is seldom except when we ask questions [290] that anyone finds occasion to express a number above five. We never heard a man not of our

party ask any question in regard to exact number after he had been told 'many.'

In the Mackenzie district a band of caribou seen is usually reported by exact number if there are less than ten; over that number careful estimates are let suffice, e.g. 'over twenty,' 'less than forty,' etc. It is in fact, usually, exceedingly difficult to count caribou correctly if the band is over ten animals."

2: Stefansson--296 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
117, 262

"Food. Customs in general do not seem to differ from other people seen before. For first time saw deer droppings eaten. They had them in a bucket frozen and ate them as we do berries. Similarly when deer were killed at Kirkpûk's camp two days ago grubs were gathered in a small pail and passed around as a sort of dessert after the meal as we might nuts or fruit."

2: Stefansson--296-297 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
736, 117

"Care of Infirm. One man of about forty-five, Avranna, is totally blind [297] and has been 'for a long time.' He seems tenderly cared for and goes walking about outside with his cane, guided by the shouts of grown people or children warning him of obstacles and telling him where to go."

2: Stefansson--300-301 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
117, 262, 784

"May 12. Near Prince Albert Sound. Food Taboos. Hunting with Hupgok last summer was a young man (B. tells), Kamoarîok (Kogluktok) who forbade anybody to break for marrow bones of caribou he had killed. Both ends must be sawed off to get the marrow. This was because 'caribou might all leave the country, if the bones of any he had killed were broken for marrow.' This man would break in the ordinary way bones of caribou killed by anyone else. He was the only one last summer who, so far as any of us learned, put restrictions on manner of eating marrow. B. says in his place he heard of people who had similar restrictions as to breaking marrow [301] bones. When B. was young he had pain in his index finger. The doctor then told him that until he was a grown man he must not eat fish roe or he would quickly die. B. kept restriction some years but broke it before grown up. None of his people would eat ptarmigan heads with seal oil for fear of going blind."

2: Stefansson--303-305 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
172, 117

"May 3. Traces of People. Traces of people, such as there are, would be very easy to find now if we only had a third man to leave me free to follow the beach while they proceeded off shore. The snow that must have covered many things the first week of May and the last week of April last year is now all gone. Around our present camp have seen no traces of men except one stick that was probably used as a chopping block (by Richardson's party?), axes were very sharp. Cuttings might be anything from six to sixty years old.

June 1. House Ruins. Before supper I took a fruitless walk west along the beach in search of traces of the former inhabitants. After supper I had a look east with better results. Half a mile east of camp is a tiny creek coming from the mountains (or foothills). Our camp is twenty yards east of another such creek. On the west bank of this creek, about fifteen feet above the creek and thirty or forty feet over the sea, is a little, flat-topped shelf of the hill nearest the coast, about one hundred fifty or two [304] hundred yards from the sea. On this shelf is the ruin of a sod-and-wood house of ovoid shape about eight by ten feet, in greatest transverse interior diameters. The greater end of the ovoid is towards the sea, and the door seems to have been in the middle of the seaward gable. There is no evidence of an alleyway of wood and earth such as is frequently in use in the Mackenzie. The main supports of the house have been in western style, the butt ends of small trees, the roots up to serve for crotches. That

the structure cannot have been a cache is shown by the traces of a door, by the root bearing uprights which are now fallen, and by the fact that the walls were clearly partly of split sticks. One of the sticks still upright in the east wall was an adzed board about six inches wide whose end now sticks about two and a half feet up at an angle varying from the vertical about as Eskimo walls usually do, about 15° or 20°. Some of the wall timbers are decayed quite off even with the ground, others are still in fair preservation, difference no doubt due to differing age and sort of timbers originally used. No excavation possible on account of ground being frozen. About ten yards east of the house are a few scattered sticks probably of more recent date. They may however be remains of a work-shelter dating from the days of the house, or more likely, a more recent camp-site. Judging by the ruins of Fort Confidence, making no allowance for difference in climate this house should have a minimum antiquity of over a hundred years.

About three hundred yards west of this house ruin, ten or twelve feet above the sea and fifty yards from the beach are the sites of two or more tents. There are no stone rings, but there are two fireplaces (flat stones now and perhaps originally all lying flat on the ground). There is one small stick by one fireplace that still has the charcoal on the end. There are many unshaped sticks scattered about. This is the interesting part, for the present people to the east never gather sticks about their camps except to dry on meat or fish. The western Eskimo however build windbreaks and smoke shelters

of rough sticks. Date of these sites perhaps fifty or sixty years. Saw also three or more tent sites that would suit well the present eastern style of tent, merely some split sticks laid on the ground to be under the beds and some split rejects from implement making. None of these camps less than fifty years old. Adze and knife shavings have all disappeared from all the sites.

June 3. Buchanan River. Stone Graves. Saw four or more very old stone graves on the rising ground in the delta just east of the most westerly mouth of Buchanan River. Only artifact seen was a piece of a sled runner so rotten that it was in pieces where it lay. It was almost surely a piece of the short, western type sled, piece about eighteen inches long. Both ends missing and parts of side edges, one hole still showed, the sort of hole used for the insertion of cross bars on Mackenzie sleds and not found at present towards Coppermine.

A half mile east of present camp some sticks brought together on bit of rising ground as if to use in camping, and by our camp a stick from which slivers have been split, these latter two not over fifty years old probably.

June 4. Near Roscoe River. I wanted to make our present camp at the old ruined village seen by my sled party May 2nd last year. I spied for it carefully every half mile with the glasses but never saw it. I think it must have been closer than we thought to our bear kill camp. With glasses saw every half mile or so east of Roscoe River some sort of remains, graves, tent sites, or caches. In one place where these were

especially numerous I went ashore to see. There were ten or more (perhaps over twenty, some are hard to distinguish from natural formations) caches, evidently for whole meat. A pit a foot or two in depth had been dug, lined with stones in some cases, in some cases not, and covered with stones and earth. These had evidently been opened again by the owners. The caches are of the type used at Kittegaryuitto'rot meat while the owners are there in residence to protect from animals, i.e., not made to keep out strong animals. The pits seem to have been in one case over four by six feet and in most cases about three by four. The only bones seen were those of whales, at least two whales of different sizes, both small. The bones seen were maxillary and vertebrae. No artifacts seen."